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OF THE
**American Schools of Oriental
Research**

JERUSALEM

BAGHDAD

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

Nos. 10-12

**THE DEAD SEA MANUAL OF
DISCIPLINE**

TRANSLATION AND NOTES

By

WILLIAM HUGH BROWNLEE

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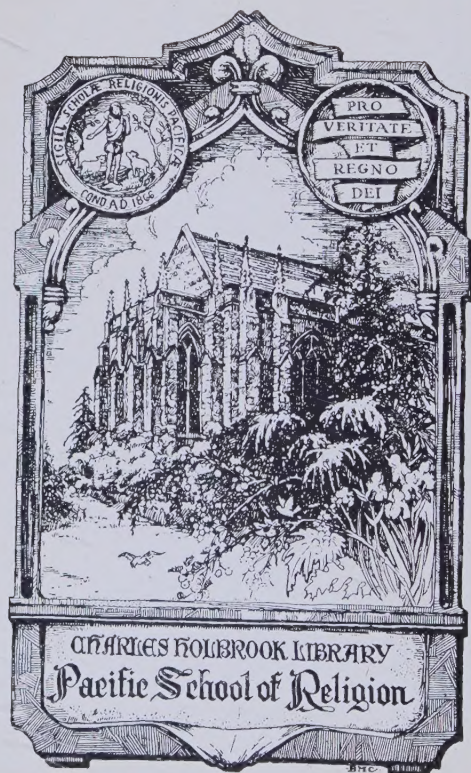
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PUBLISHED BY THE
AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
YALE STATION, NEW HAVEN, CONN.)

1951



Manual of Discipline, English.
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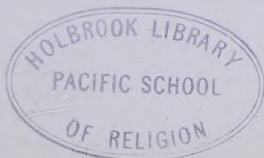
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DISCIPLINE, *ENGLISH*

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WILLIAM HUGH BROWNLEE



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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Owing to various circumstances a number of previously announced monographs in this series have had to be given up or deferred. We are, accordingly, most fortunate in presenting Professor W. H. Brownlee's translation of the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, with detailed notes. As this study goes to the printer, the photographs of this document, together with transcription into square Hebrew by Professor Millar Burrows of Yale University, have appeared. The latter fascicle (which will ultimately form the second part of Vol. II of the official publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls belonging to Archbishop Athanasius Yeshue Samuel) may be purchased from our New Haven office for \$2.00.

We owe Professor Burrows a particular debt of gratitude for consenting to the publication of this translation considerably in advance of the appearance of Professor Leonard Rost's official commentary on the Manual of Discipline. The recent discovery of the first five (possibly more) columns of the text of this document, though in a somewhat fragmentary condition, and their anticipated publication by Père R. de Vaux will add greatly to the historical value of this unique document from the second (or early first) century B. C. Scholars will have many years of work before it can be fully understood, but Professor Brownlee and his advisers have made splendid progress toward that goal.

The next number of the *Supplementary Studies* now projected is the publication of Professor O. R. Sellers' finds in the remarkable Roman tomb at Silet edh-Dhahr.

The following numbers of the *Supplementary Studies* are still available (Nos. 1 and 4, containing Kramer's *Enki and Ninhursag* and the Barton *Bibliography*, are already out of print):

- Nos. 2/3. *The Legend of King Keret: A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age.* By H. L. Ginsberg (1946, 50 pp., 2 plates, \$1.25)
- Nos. 5/6. *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the Old Testament.* By James L. Kelso. (1948, 48 pp., \$1.25)
- Nos. 7/9. *The Early Arabian Necropolis of Ain Jawan: A Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Site on the Persian Gulf.* By Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr. (1950, 70 pp., with 24 cuts in the text, \$1.75 [\$2.00 in boards])
- Nos. 10/12 (the present number) may be obtained for \$2.00 from the New Haven office of the Schools (Drawer 93A, Yale Station).

W. F. ALBRIGHT

January, 1951

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¹ These headings, which appear in the translation, have been supplied by the translator.

FOREWORD

The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline (whose symbol is DSD)¹ has already been judged by W. F. Albright as being "unquestionably the most valuable of all the scrolls yet known from the standpoint of history."² This appraisal is justified, if one thinks not of historical data as events (of which there is almost no record in this scroll), but rather of religious data which illumine our understanding of pre-Christian Judaism, and which bring fresh light to bear upon the background and thought of the New Testament. This document is also historically important for reinforcing the paleographic and archaeological evidence as to the antiquity of the sect which owned and produced the Dead Sea Scrolls; for it is clear from the Manual of Discipline that the sectaries of the document were Essenes, whom both Philo and Josephus (of the first century A.D.) regarded as an old and long-established order.

According to Josephus, Essenes were of two types, marrying and non-marrying. Philo wrote only of the latter, and it is of these that Josephus had the most to relate. The beliefs and practices set forth in DSD parallel closely what these ancient writers relate concerning the non-marrying Essenes. Where differences exist, they may be accounted for either on the assumption that DSD is earlier, or that DSD is from another closely related branch of the Essene family. Literary parallels between the Dead Sea Scrolls (particularly DSD) and the famous "Zadokite Work" (more correctly called *Cairo Genizah Document of the Damascus Covenanters* whose symbol is CDC), which was discovered in 1896, indicate that they are all documents of a common sect which jointly may be termed Covenanters. CDC provides supplementary information strengthening the identification of the Covenanters with the Essenes.³ The evidence of both documents, moreover, is that the brotherhood depicted in them is of the marrying, rather than non-marrying type.⁴ Thus the discovery of CDC in 1896 and the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 have not brought to light a previously unknown Jewish sect, but rather have presented us with the literature of marrying Essenes, whose existence was recorded nearly nineteen centuries ago by Josephus.

The translation of any previously unknown document is not easy—especially when the document comes from a sect many of whose conceptions are new or strange (from the standpoint of Hebrew text) and

¹ See note 1 on Col. I of the Text.

² BASOR, No. 119, Oct., 1950, p. 4.

³ For a comparison of the sectaries with the Essenes and Covenanters of Damascus, cf. Millar Burrows, "The Discipline Manual of the Judean Covenanters," *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, ed. P. A. H. De Boer, Leiden, 1950, pp. 165 ff. Consult likewise my treatment of the subject, "A Comparison of the Covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls with Pre-Christian Jewish Sects," *BA*, Sept., 1950. The notes to the translation will make the comparison fuller. See also A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte (L'Orient Ancien Illustré, No. 4)*, Paris, 1950, Chapter viii, pp. 105 ff.

⁴ Cf. the translation and related notes of DSD i, 1; iv, 7.

whose manner of expression sometimes appears enigmatic when the translator first confronts the text. Obscurities of syntax and even textual corruption have been obstacles in the pathway of understanding.

Though Millar Burrows was the first to read the *Manual of Discipline* in its entirety (in Jerusalem, March, 1948), he gave his kind consent to my translation of the document—which I undertook in the spring of 1949. The speed with which the work has been executed⁵ is in a large measure due to the able assistance given me by friends who have carefully reviewed and criticized tentative translations which I presented them from time to time. F. W. Young, formerly of Duke University (but now of Yale University) and Millar Burrows of Yale have reviewed successive revisions of my translation—the former through personal interview, the latter through correspondence. H. L. Ginsberg of the Jewish Theological Seminary and Samuel Iwry of Baltimore Hebrew College (who deals with CDC and DSD in his Johns Hopkins dissertation, just finished) have each reviewed a copy of my translation. I have made a conscientious effort to credit all consultants in the footnotes of the text (by means of their initials) with their most significant suggestions. In some places not indicated in the footnotes of the translation, my understanding of the text rests in part upon minor suggestions, or partial insights, of my friends—perhaps subtly even where I am not aware; and of course the converse is also true, as they have built upon the foundation of my previous labor. One of the chief values of such interchange of opinion has been the mutual quickening of our understanding, as stated in the Biblical proverb: “Iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.”

I am also deeply indebted to my devoted wife, whose understanding and patience have enabled me to use most of my leisure time from a full academic load of instruction for the study and translation of this important document. Sometimes it is she who found the fit phrase, or the apt English expression, for the meaning I perceived in the Hebrew text.

I make no claim for the definitiveness of this translation. Numerous alternative constructions and translations (both my own and others') have been rejected; and out of regard for brevity, the major part of these are not even mentioned in the notes. Some of these may yet prove to be correct. Moreover, the publication of additional material by E. L. Sukenik from his scrolls DST and DSW or the unrolling of DSL may bring new light to bear upon DSD. Neither are my notes intended to serve as a complete commentary upon the text of DSD. This monograph cannot begin to indicate the full religious significance of the Dead Sea *Manual of Discipline*.

WILLIAM H. BROWNLEE

July, 1951

⁵ Solomon Schechter did not publish a translation of CDC until 1910—fourteen years after its discovery.

THE DEAD SEA MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE ¹

The Covenant of the Community [Cf. iii, 11 f; viii, 17]

or

The Covenant of Repentance [Cf. CDC xix, 16 (9: 15)]

- i,² 1 [These are the ordinances] | for [the whole assembly, including children and women:³ to liv[e in the ord]er of the
2 Community;⁴ to seek | God [in His ordinances, dedicating themselves in Community]⁵ to do what is good and right
3 before Him,⁶ as | He commanded through Moses and through all His servants, the prophets;⁷ and to love everything |
4 that He has chosen, and to hate everything that He has
5 rejected;⁸ to keep far from every evil | and to cling to every good deed;⁹ and to practice truth and righteousness and
6 justice | in the land;¹⁰ and to walk no more in the stubbornness of a guilty heart¹¹ and lustful eyes¹² | so as to do any
7 evil. All who dedicate themselves to do God's ordinances shall
8 be brought¹³ | into the covenant¹⁴ of friendship,¹⁵ to be united [or, to become a Community] in God's counsel,¹⁶ and to walk

NOTES

COLUMN i, NOTES

¹ The original title of the document is not known. The above title (to be represented by the letters DSD) has been adopted by the American Schools of Oriental Research because of its appropriateness to characterize much of the scroll's contents, when "discipline" is construed broadly as in the Methodist "Book of Discipline." An appropriate Hebrew title to represent this designation would be סֵדֶר הַיְחָדָה (The Practice [or order] of the Community)—which E. L. Sukenik adopted for use in *Megillot Genuzot* II, after the suggestion of H. Yalon (p. 27).

This document has many striking affinities with the work variously known as "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" and "The Cairo Genizah Document of the Damascus Covenanters" (hereafter cited as CDC). References to CDC are given by column and line; the figures in parentheses give chapter and verse numbers according to R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. ii, pp. 785-834. Both forms of reference are employed in the Hebrew text of CDC as edited by Leonard Rost (*Die Damaskusschrift*, Berlin, 1933).

Except where indicated otherwise, materials placed in brackets represent words supplied, or remarks interpolated, by the translator. Parentheses are employed for parenthetical material within the Heb. text. Vertical lines separate between lines of text, asterisks enclose words which in the Heb. order belong to the previous line.

² Col. i is not the first of the original scroll as it was when fully preserved; but it is rather the first of the document in possession of A. Y. Samuel; for a seam of thread at the beginning of the document indicates that another strip of skin containing text has preceded extant Col. i. Fragments of the scroll recovered from the cave remove all doubt on this matter. For another translation of this Col. (and a part of Col. v) consult Meir Wallenstein, "The Judaean Scrolls—the 'Sectarian Document'," *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, July 8, 1950, p. 6. Wallenstein presents in English the gist of E. L. Sukenik's article on DSD in *Megillot Genuzot* II. His translation of DSD reflects Prof. Sukenik's interpretations. See also, A. Dupont-Sommer, "La 'Règle' de la Communauté de la Nouvelle Alliance. Extraits traduits et annotés," *RHR*, 138 (1950), pp. 5-21, and Paul Bauchet, "Une page d'un des manuscrits du Désert de Judée," *RB*, 56, pp. 583-5.

³ Restoring the Hebrew thus: אֵלֶּה הַתּוֹקִים [לְבִיּוֹר הַקָּהָל מִפְּנֵי עַד נְשִׁים]. I am grateful to R. de Vaux for his kind permission to cite the evidence of the DSD

fragments (acquired by the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem), By reason of his courtesy toward the American Schools of Oriental Research, photographs of the fragments fell into my hands after my own translation of DSD was complete. The fourth line of De Vaux's first col. of DSD contains the words: "They assemble (יִקְהִילוּ) all who enter from little children to women." The phrase "for the whole assembly" occurs in l. 25 of the same col. The first two words of the restoration are predicated as having stood at the bottom of the preceding col. For the complete structure of this introduction to our Chapter I, cf. Chapter V (ix, 12). The fragment upon which this restoration is based confirms my previous view that the Essene sect of this scroll was one which practiced marriage. Cf. the phrase "to bear seed" of iv, 7. Cf. Appendix A.

⁴ Restoring thus: לַחַיִּין [בְּסֵר] הִיחָד. E. L. Sukenik (*op. cit.*, p. 28) read [לַחַיִּין]; but the paleography favors my reading. The second and third words are restored exactly as in i, 16. For the entire phrase, cf. *יַחֲדוּ בִיחָד אֶמֶת* of ii, 24, where perhaps (after i, 1) we should emend the first word to *יַחֲדוּ*. Cf. Appendix A.

The word translated "Community" is a favorite one of the sect, occurring once in DSH (xii, 4) and numerous times in DST and DSW. Cf. also CDC xx, 1, 14, 32 (9: 29, 39, 53) where *יַחֲדוּ* is corrupt for *יִחָד*, unless the extra letter represents a pronunciation differing from the traditional two *patahs* of the Hebrew Bible. The meaning of the word embraces the ideas of Unity, Community, and Communion. It is thus variously translated according to context.

The word translated "order" (*serekh*) appears frequently in this document, as also in CDC: x, 4 (11: 1), xii, 19, 22 (15: 1, 4), etc., where it appears to mean practice, orderly procedure, ritual—meanings not inappropriate for DSD v, 1 and vi, 8. R. H. Charles in his note to CDC 9: 1 calls attention to the fact that in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the word *serekh* was translated by the Greek word *τάξις*. "Order" appears to be the meaning of DSD in i, 1, 16, ii, 20, 21; v, 23; vi, 22. In some of these references it may mean "order" in the sense of "rank."

⁵ Restoring thus אֵל [בְּחֻקָּיו נִרְבִּים בִּיחָד לְעִשּׂוֹת]. For seeking God, cf. II Chron. 15: 12. There is sufficient trace of the first letter of the restoration to justify the inclusion of the first phrase after the analogy of v, 11. In the middle of the lacuna are traces of letters consistent with the letters נִרְבִּים (occurring below in lines 7 and 11). Cf. the phrase הַמִּתְנַרְבִּים בִּיחָד I construe נִרְבִּים as the *Niph'al* participle, which I take to mean the same as the more usual *Hithpa'el* form occurring in v, 1, 6, 8, 10, 21, 22; vi, 13. Difference in verb form between col. i, and the subsequent ones may be one of several clues pointing to compilation of different sources. The word means more than "those who volunteer" (cf. Jud. 5: 2; Neh. 11: 2); for it is colored with the thought of the freewill offering (נִדְבָה). Cf. ix, 5, 24 (with notes), also Ezra 3: 5; I Chr. 29: 17; II Chr. 17: 16; Ps. 110: 3. The men of the Community offer themselves to the Lord as a freewill offering. Perhaps the Greek word *ἐκούσια ὄμμενος* of I Macc. 2: 42, employed of the Hasideans, translates this same Hebrew word. Another restoration based upon II Chron. 15: 12 would be "to seek God [with wholeness of heart and with wholeness of soul], in order to do . . ."

⁶ Cf. Dt. 6: 18; II Chr. 31: 20.

⁷ Cf. Ez. 38: 17; CDC v, 21 (8: 2); DSH ii, 9; vii, 5.

⁸ Cf. CDC ii, 15 (3: 1).

⁹ As Sukenik observes (*op. cit.*), מוֹעֵשֵׁי טוֹב = מוֹעֵשֵׁי טוֹב. Cf. Test. Ash. 3: 1; Pirqê Abôth 2: 12 f; Rom. 12: 9; I Thess. 5: 21 f.

¹⁰ Cf. Jer. 4: 2; 9: 23 (9: 24); Jub. 20: 2.

¹¹ Cf. Jer. 7: 24; 11: 8; CDC iii, 5, 11 (4: 5, 10); xix, 20 (9: 18).

¹² Cf. Num. 15: 39; Ez. 6: 9; DSH v, 7; CDC ii, 16 (3: 2).

¹³ Or more literally, "and to bring all who dedicate themselves"; but as M. B. plausibly suggests, this may be a case where the active infinitive is best translated as a passive, an Aramaic usage illustrated by the Uzziah inscription where the words וְלֹא לְמוֹפֶתָה (and not to open) mean "and it is not to be opened." In the text before us, the *Aleph* was dropped from the infinitive וְלֹהֲבִי through haplography with the particle אֵל.

¹⁴ For enter (or bring) into the Covenant, cf. I Sam. 20: 8; II Chron. 15: 12; CDC xix, 13-14 (9: 12); vi, 11 (8: 11).

¹⁵ Heb., *berith hesed*; cf. *habberith wehahesed* of Deut. 7: 9 and Dan. 9: 4 Cf. Appendix B for meaning of *hesed*.

¹⁶ Heb. לְהוֹדֵר בְּעֵצָה אֵל. The verb is probably the *Niph'al* infinitive. Cf. v, 14, 20; ix, 6. There is a constant ambiguity between "counsel" or "council," which can only be resolved where the context is clear.

- 9 before Him perfectly¹⁷ [in] all¹⁸ | things that are revealed
 according to their appointed seasons¹⁹ and to love all the sons
 10 of light,²⁰ each | according to his lot in God's counsel,²¹ but
 to hate all the sons of darkness,²⁰ each according to his guilt |
 11 in provoking God's vengeance! All who dedicate themselves
 to His Truth shall bring all their mind and their strength |
 12 and their property²² into the Community of God, to clarify²³
 their mind by the truth of God's ordinances,²⁴ and to direct²⁵
 13 their strength | according to the perfection of His ways, and
 [to direct] all their property according to His righteous counsel;
 14 and not to transgress | a single one of all God's provisions in
 their periods;²⁶ and not to advance their times, nor to lag |
 15 behind any of their [holy] seasons; nor to swerve from His
 16 true ordinances, to go either right or left!²⁷ | All who enter
 the order of the Community shall enter into the covenant²⁸
 17 in God's presence, to do | according to all that He com-
 manded,²⁹ and not to turn aside from following after Him,³⁰
 18 out of any terror or fright or ordeal³¹ | when they are tried³²
 under the dominion of Belial.³³ And as they are entering into
 19 the covenant, the priests | and the Levites *shall* bless³⁴
 the God of deliverances and all His deeds of faithfulness.
 20 Then all | who enter into the covenant shall say after them,
 "Amen! Amen!"³⁵
 21 Then the priests shall recount God's righteousness with its
 22 deeds of might³⁶ | and shall declare all the abundance of
 23 grace³⁷ upon Israel; and the Levites shall recount | the in-
 equities of the children of Israel, and all their guilty trans-
 24 gressions and their sin under the dominion of | Belial.³⁸ [Then
 all]³⁹ who enter into the covenant shall confess after them,
 25 saying, "We have perverted ourselves! | [We have trans-
 gressed, we have sinned],⁴⁰ we have done wickedly—both we
 [and our fathers]⁴¹ before us—because we have walked |
 26 [contrary to] true [ordinances]. And [God] is righte[ous] who
 has executed] His justice upon us and upon [our] fathers;⁴² ||
 ii, 1 but the abundance of His grace he has [b]estowed¹ upon us
 from everlasting to everlasting."²
 2 Then the priests shall bless³ all the men of God's lot, who
 walk perfectly in all His ways, and shall say:
 3 "May He bless thee with every | good,
 And keep thee from every evil;
 And illumine thy heart with life-giving wisdom,⁴

¹⁷ Cf. Gen. 17: 1; Ps. 101: 6; and CDC ii, 15 f. (3: 2).

¹⁸ The Heb. reads simply בּוֹל, but it should be emended to either כּוֹל or בְּכוֹל—the first letter having been omitted through haplography.

¹⁹ Or more literally, "their seasons of testimonies"—"testimonies" (in the sense of laws, as frequently in O. T.) being used attributively (cf. iii, 10). Sukenik (*op. cit.*, p. 28 f.) takes the *mo'ed* to mean assembly (cf. Num. 16: 2; Ps. 74: 8), and thus the passage means "all things that are revealed (such as legal interpretations) to gatherings of the sect that study Torah." Cf. however, the words וּמוֹעֲדֵי תַעֲדוֹת עוֹלָמִים in DSW (*Meg. Gen.* I, pl. ix, right col., l. 12), where they are employed in conjunction with times (עֵתִים). The translation which I adopt for the phrase is that suggested by H. L. G.

²⁰ Important link in terminology with DSW. Cf. Lk. 16: 8; Jn. 12: 36; I Thess. 5: 5; Eph. 5: 8.

²¹ I. e., according to his place in the sectarian council, and/or his destiny in God's eternal counsel.

²² Cf. v, 2 (Note 5), CDC xiii, 11 (16: 4).

²³ Or "to prove" (*lbr*). I follow S. I.

²⁴ Cf. DSH ii, 15.

²⁵ Heb., *ltn*.

²⁶ Heb., בְּקִצֵּיהֶם. By reason of the phrases which follow and especially the word מוֹעֲדֵיהֶם (their holy seasons), the word *qets* appears to be used here to designate a period of worship as in x, i; DSH xi, 6; CDC xvi, 2 (20: 1). According to the last reference, the festivals are to be observed in accordance with the regulations of the Book of Jub., a portion of which was found in the Scroll Cave.

²⁷ Cf. Dt. 17: 11, 20; 28: 14; Josh. 23: 6; II K. 22: 2.

²⁸ Heb., יַעֲבֹדוּ בְּבֵרִית. Cf. Dt. 29: 11 and Charles' note on CDC i, 20 (1: 15).

²⁹ Cf. Gen. 7: 5.

³⁰ Cf. Num. 14: 43; Josh. 22: 16, 18, 23, 29; I Sam. 15: 11; Jer. 3: 19; Num. 32: 15.

³¹ Heb., וּמִצֵּרָה. Cf. viii, 4 and CDC xx, 27 (9: 49). For figurative use of the verb (lit., to smelt), cf. Jud. 7: 4; Dan. 11: 35; Mal. 3: 2 f.

³² Reading *nswym* (pass. part. of *nsh*, after Dupont-Sommer). H. L. G. reads *nhyyym* (from *hyh*)—"which may come to pass." For use of the *Niph'al* participle for future events, cf. (after H. L. G.) Heb. Ben Sira 42: 19; 48: 25. Cf. also DSD ii, 15; ix, 26; x, 5; xi, 9. For other readings of this text, cf. C. M. Stern, *JBL*, Vol. 69, Mar., '50, p. 25 and E. L. Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* II, p. 29.

³³ Cf. lines, 23-24 below, also CDC xii, 2 (14: 5); iv 13 f. (6: 9), and numerous occurrences of "Beliar" in Jub.

³⁴ Heb., מוֹבְרָכִים יִהְיוּ, literally, "shall be . . . blessing"—with a view to the recurrent observances of the ceremony (ii, 19). The force of the verb is carried forward from line 18 to the participles which follow, giving to them the sense of the imperative (i, 20, 21, 22, 24; ii, 1, 2, 4). Consult Appendix G.

³⁵ On the double "Amen" being used in curses and blessings, see Num. 5: 22 and Neh. 8: 6. Cf. also the solemn "verily, verily" of the Fourth Gospel. The single "Amen" is the recurrent response of the people in the curses of Dt. 27: 14-26.

³⁶ Lit., "their" (as I read), modifying the Heb. plural "righteousnesses." The pronominal suffix is spelled either *Waw Mem* or *Yodh Mem*. The Aramaic suffix [ח] (sometimes represented in the O. T. by הוּם) may be relied upon to account for the *Waw*; or one may suppose that *Yodh* represents a retention of the *Tsere* of the pronoun הֵמָּה. Cf. רוּחַם = רוּחֵם of v. 21 and עֲלֵיהֶן = עֲלֵיהֶן of iii, 25, also לאֲוֹרֵתִים of DST, Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* II, Pl. IX, lines 2, 19. Cf. especially נַפְשֵׁם of Ez. 13: 20.

³⁷ Heb., חֲסֵדֵי רַחֲמִים, an expression which is reversed in ii, 1. Cf. these same words joined with "and" (*Waw*) in Ps. 103: 4. Cf. in general Is. 63: 7 ff.

³⁸ Cf. iii, 20 f.

³⁹ Restoring וְכֹל as in line 19.

⁴⁰ Restoring פִּשְׁעֵנוּ חַטָּאתֵנוּ with M. B. Cf. I. K. 8: 47; Neh. 9: 33; Ps. 106: 6; Ezek. 2: 3; Dan. 9: 5; Jub. 1: 22; also Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* ii, Pl. ix, line 30.

⁴¹ Restoring אֲנִי [וְאֲבוֹתַי] יָנוּ, after CDC xx, 28-29 (9: 51).

⁴² Restoring the line as follows: [קְרִי בְּחֻקֵּי] אִמְתָּ וְצִדִּיק [אֵל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה] מִשְׁפָּטֵנוּ בָּנוּ [וְאֲבוֹתַי] יָנוּ. Cf. CDC xx, 30 f. (9: 51); Ezra 9: 15; Neh. 9: 33; Dan. 9: 14; Deut. 32: 4; Ps. 119: 137 f.; and DST, Sukenik, *op. cit.*, Pl. ix, line 36; also I En. 63: 8.

COLUMN ii, NOTES

¹ [ג]ל. Traces of the ג are visible.

² Heb., as in Ps. 90: 2.

³ Dt. 21: 5.

⁴ Heb., *sekhel hayyim* (lit., wisdom of life)—the word "life" being used attributively as *da'at 'olamim* (lit., knowledge of eternity) in the following stichos. The meaning is more than "living wisdom," however. Cf. "tree of life" (Gen. 2: 9), "spirit of life" (Gen. 6: 17), "way of life" (i. e., way that leads to life, Ps. 16: 11).

- And favor thee with eternal knowledge;
 4 And lift up His face of mercy toward thee for
 thine eternal peace.”⁵
- 5 Then the Levites shall curse⁶ all the men of | Belial’s lot
 and shall respond and say:
- “Cursed be thou for all thy guilty, evil deeds! |
 6 May God make thee an object of shuddering⁷
 through all exactors of vengeance!
 And may He command after thee destruction
 7 through all recompensers of | deserts.⁸
 Cursed be thou, without compassion, according
 to the darkness of thy deeds;
 8 And damned⁹ be thou | in the gloom of eternal
 fire!¹⁰
 May God not favor thee when thou callest;¹¹
 And may He not be forgiving to pardon thine
 iniquities; |
 9 May He lift up His face of anger for the ven-
 geance due thee,
 And mayest thou have no peace
 At the mouth of all who hold enmity!”¹²
- 10 And all who enter into the covenant shall say after those who
 bless and those who curse: “Amen! Amen!” |
- 11 Then the priests and Levites shall resume and say:
 12 “Cursed for entering with the idols of his heart | be he who
 enters this covenant and puts the stumbling-block of his guilt
 before him¹³ so as to backslide¹⁴ through it. It will come
 13 to pass | when he hears the terms of this covenant, that he
 will bless himself in his heart saying: ‘Peace be to me, |
 14 because I walk in the stubbornness of my heart!’ But his
 spirit will be destroyed,^{14a} the thirst together with the satiety,¹⁵
 15 with no | forgiveness! God’s anger and His jealous judgments
 16 will burn against him for eternal destruction.¹⁶ All | the
 curses of this covenant will *cling to him*;¹⁷ for God will
 single him out for disaster,¹⁸ and he will be cut off from the
 17 midst of all the sons of light when he backslides | from follow-
 ing after God, through his idols; and the stumbling-block of
 his guilt will place his lot in the midst of the eternally
 18 cursed.”¹⁹ | Then all those entering the covenant shall respond
 and say after them, “Amen! Amen!” |
- 19 Thus shall they do year by year all the days of the dominion
 20 of Belial. The priests shall enter the covenant | first in the
 order²⁰ pertaining to their spirits, one after another; and after
 21 them the Levites shall enter; | then thirdly all the people²¹ shall
 enter in order one after another, by thousands, and hundreds, |
 22 and fifties, and tens,²² according to the knowledge of every
 man of Israel²³—each in the status of his office²⁴ in God’s
 23 Community | according to the eternal counsel; and one shall
 not fall from the status of his office, nor rise from his allotted
 24 place; | for they all shall live in true Unity²⁵ and good humility

- 25 and loving devotion²⁶ and righteous purpose, | each toward
his fellow in the holy Council, and [as] members of the eternal
assembly [or, Conclave].²⁷ But no one who refuses to enter
26 [Go]ld's [Covenant]—that he may walk in his stubbornness of
heart—[shall enter] His true [Com]munity;

iii, 1 For || his soul *has refused* instruction
And knowledge¹ of righteous laws.

⁵ For "eternal peace" cf. Test. of Dan. 5: 11. For entire blessing, cf. Nu. 6: 24-26.

⁶ Cf. Dt. 27: 15.

⁷ Heb. **וְיִתְנֶה אֵל זְעוּה**—as S. I. notes, the last word requires a *Lamedh*, which is missing by reason of haplography.

⁸ Heb. **גְּמוּלִים**, cf. CDC vii, 9 (9: 2).

⁹ Heb. **זְעוּם** used in parallelism with "cursed" (**אָרוּר**). Cf. its use with **קָבַב** (cursed), Nu. 23: 7-8.

¹⁰ Heb., **בְּאִפְרִית אֵשׁ**, which (after S. I.) one might be inclined to emend to **אֵשׁ** or more simply **אֵשׁ**—"**בְּאִפְרִית אֵשׁ**"—as fuel of fire." Cf. Is. 9: 4, 18; Ez. 15: 6. However, the paradox of associating fire with darkness appears at iv, 13 and in I En. 103: 8. In the N. T., darkness is associated with hell (Mt. 8: 12; 22: 13; II Pet. 2: 4; Jude 6).

¹¹ Cf. Isa. 30: 19.

¹² Heb., **אֹחֻזֵי אֲבוֹת**—the second word (as M. B. suggests) being the plural of **אֵיבָה** (enmity).

¹³ Cf. Dt. 27: 14-15; Ezek. 14: 3; CDC xx, 8-10 (9: 33-34).

¹⁴ Reading **לְהַסִּיג** (the *Niph'al* infinitive), as also in line 16 (בהסוגו).

^{14a} The broken text is read **וּנְסַפְתָּה** by S. I.; but I read **וּנְסַפְתָּה**.

¹⁵ Cf. Dt. 29: 18-19, DSH xi, 14-15.

¹⁶ Cf. Dt. 29: 19 (29: 20).

¹⁷ Cf. CDC i, 17 (1: 12).

¹⁸ Cf. Dt. 29: 20 (29: 21).

¹⁹ On "eternal execration" cf. I En. 5: 5; Jub. 36: 10.

²⁰ Heb. **בְּסִכְר** as in i, 16. Context favors taking **סִכְר** here in the sense of "rank," i. e., the spiritual rank in the roster of the Community (vi, 22). So also H. L. G.

²¹ There are only three classes of the Community as compared to four classes in CDC, xiv, 3-6 (17: 1-3), where proselytes form the fourth class. DSD vi, 8-9 also mentions three classes; but the term "elders" replaces "Levites." Cf. I Esdras 9: 37 for the three-fold classification.

²² Cf. Ex. 18: 21, 25; Dt. 1: 15; Mk. 6: 40; CDC xiii, 1-2 (15: 4).

²³ I. e., there are different groups classified according to their knowledge (F. W. Y.).

²⁴ Heb. **בֵּית מַעֲמָדוֹ**, there probably being a haplography of the first letter. For **מַעֲמָד**, meaning office, see CDC ii, 9 (2: 8); iv, 5 (6: 3); xx, 5 (9: 32).

²⁵ Or in the "true Community" as in line 26, but here the phrase seems to be coordinated with the following virtues by reason of which one does not aspire to a rank higher than that assigned him.

²⁶ Or "loyal love." Heb. **וְאֶהְבֵּת חֶסֶד** as in Micah 6: 8 ("love of mercy"), but the other genitives in this context appear to be attributive. Cf. v, 4, 25; viii, 2; x, 26.

²⁷ Heb. **בְּעֵצָה קוֹדֵשׁ וּבְנֵי סוֹד עוֹלָמִים**. Cf. xi, 8; also DST, Meg. Gen. II, pl. viii, lines 3 f.: "For there is hope for him whom Thou hast formed from dust for the eternal assembly." On the Council and the Conclave, cf. vi, 16-19.

²⁸ Heb., of this line as restored is: **לְלֶכֶת בְּשִׁירוֹת לְבֹ לֹא [יַעֲבֹר בֵּית] דְּ אִמְתּוֹ כִּי אֵלֶּה**.

COLUMN iii, NOTES

¹ Emending **דַּעַת** to **דַּעַת**—error due to wrong word division. For **דַּעַת**, cf. Jer. 17: 13; CDC vii, 5, 8 (8: 21; 9: 1). **דַּעַת** = **דַּעַת** of the Biblical text, which is likewise employed as a synonym of **דַּעַת**; cf. Prov. 4: 1; 8: 10; 12: 1; 23: 12. For entire clause, cf. Lev. 26: 15, 43; Hos. 4: 6. Cf. lines 5 f. The prose passes into poetry. The meter becomes difficult and irregular in lines 2 and 3; but this is characteristic of late poetry like that contained in Ecclesiastes, Daniel, and DST.

- He has not held fast to the Restorer of his life,²
 So with the upright he shall not be reckoned; |
 2 Nor shall his mind, nor his strength, nor his property³
 Be brought into⁴ the Council of the Community;⁵
 For with dishonest scales he sells a fraud,
 3 And defilement | is in his restitution.⁶
 He cannot be justified⁷ while he conceals his
 stubbornness of heart
 And with darkened mind⁸ looks upon ways of light.
 4 While in iniquity, | he cannot be reckoned *perfect*.⁹
 He cannot purify himself by atonement,
 Nor cleanse himself with water-for-impurity,¹⁰
 5 Nor sanctify himself with seas | or rivers,¹¹
 Nor cleanse himself with any water for washing!
- 6 Unclean! Unclean! shall he be as long as¹² he rejects | God's
 laws so as not to be instructed by the Community of His
 counsel. For it is through the spirit of God's true counsel
 7 [in regard to]¹³ a man's ways that all | his iniquities *will be
 atoned* so that he may look upon the life-giving light,¹⁴ and
 through a holy spirit disposed toward Unity¹⁵ in His truth
 8 that he will be cleansed of all | his iniquities, and through an
 upright and humble spirit that his sin will be atoned, and
 through the submission of his soul to all God's ordinances |
 9 that his flesh *will be cleansed* so that he may purify him-
 self¹⁶ with water-for-impurity and sanctify himself with rip-
 10 pling water;¹⁷ and he will direct his steps so as to walk per-
 11 fectly | in all God's ways, as He commanded for His appointed
 seasons,¹⁸ not turning right or left, nor | transgressing a single
 one of all his provisions.¹⁹ Then will he procure pardon before
 God through agreeable atonements; and this will become for
 12 him a covenant of | eternal Communion.²⁰ |

*The Instruction of the Community Concerning
 the Moral Nature of Man*

or

*The Divisions of Mankind and the Spirits by
 Which They Walk*

- iii, 13 For the wise man[']s use|, that he may instruct and teach²¹ all
 the sons of light in the [succeeding] generations of all man-
 14 kind | with regard to all the varieties of their spirits with their
 traits,²² with regard to their works²³ in their [respective]
 societies,²⁴ and with regard to the visitation of their afflictions
 15 as well as | their times of well-being. From the God of
 knowledge²⁵ exists all that is and will be.²⁶ Before they existed,

² Reading, *למשיב* [ח]. Cf. Prov. 4: 13; 6: 23; 10: 17; 15: 32; Ps. 23: 3; CDC iii, 20 (5: 6).

³ Cf. i. 11; v. 2.

⁴ Reading *יבוא*, and interpreting it as the third person plural indefinite, though *יבוא* (*qal*) is.. not impossible. See on this point vi, 17, Note 40.

⁶ Cf. v, 7; vi, . . 3, 10, 14, 16; viii, 1, 11, 22; DSH xii, 4.

⁶ Reading (and in part emending): במאזני רשע מחר שו וגואלים בשיבתו: . The first word appears as בסאנן (?). The third may be an error of hearing for מכר; yet cf. מחר. For שו = שוא, cf. DSH x, 10. The *Alcph* of *gw'lym* is supralinear. S. I. (some of whose insights have been of great help here) has proposed taking the word as redeemers (i.e., relatives), for which cf. Num. 5: 8 against the background of 5: 6-7 and Lev. 5: 14-16. See also CDC ix, 10-15 (10: 7-9). However, it was a tenet of the sect that the wealth of the wicked is defiling (cf. v, 16-20). For "defilement," cf. Neh. 13: 29 in Heb. There is probably a play on the word with both ideas being present. For the noun *shivah*, cf. Ps. 126: 1.

⁷ Heb., to be pointed either as *Qal* (cf. Is. 43: 26), or as *Niph'al* (cf. Dan. 8: 14). On entire line, cf. Prov. 28: 13; Ps. 32: 5; Job 31: 33.

⁸ Heb., *we-hoshckh*, interpreted as an adverbial accusative, after a suggestion of Wm. F. Stinespring of Duke University. The line relates to a pretense of righteousness.

⁹ Heb., *temimim*, which (after W. F. Stinespring) I emend to *tamim*. On "reckoned perfect" = "justified," cf. Gen. 15: 6; Rom. 4: 4 f.; James 2: 23 f.

¹⁰ Heb., as in Num. 19: 9, 13, 20, 21; 31: 23. Cf. use of the term below in iii, 9; iv, 21.

¹¹ CDC x, 11-13 forbids baptism in bodies of water insufficient for immersion. For purification in the Sea, cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xii, 106; xiv, 258. For purification in the river, cf. Acts 16: 13 and the practise of John the Baptist, also Sibyl 4: 165.

¹² Same Hebrew words as used of the Leper in Lev. 13: 45-46.

¹³ Restore a *Lamedh*, after B. L. Daniels. For "spirit of counsel," cf. Is. 11: 2.

¹⁴ Or, "light of life" as in Jn. 8: 12. Cf. Ps. 56: 14 (13)—especially in the Heb., cf. also "life-giving wisdom" at ii, 3.

¹⁵ Heb. לִיחַד. Cf. "heart (disposed) toward unity" (לבב ליחד) in I Chronicles 12: 18 (17).

¹⁶ Heb., להוית (?) to be emended to להיכות—*Hithpa'el*. Cf. teaching of John the Baptist (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii).

¹⁷ Reading במי דוכי with S. I., who takes the term to be equivalent to "seas or rivers" of lines 4 f., which phrase likewise appears in aparallelism with "water-for-impurity." As S. I. suggests, the term may be drawn from Ps. 93: 3—"The rivers lift up their waves (דכים)." The *Waw* of DSD represents a Qamets *Ḥatuph*, as frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This reading is preferable to reading דוכו = Aramaic דכו (purification).

¹⁸ Cf. i, 8-9.

¹⁹ Cf. i, 14-15.

²⁰ The Heb. is *yahad*, the usual word for Community—translated according to context (after M. B.).

²¹ Heb. למשכיל להבין וללמד. Cf. the common heading of the psalms, "For the Chief Musician." The word *maskil* may well be drawn from Dan. 11: 33 where the same verb for "instruct" is used as here (cf. also Dan. 12: 3). Being of Hiph'il formation the word means not so much one who is wise in and of himself but one who is able to teach wisdom. Note strong Zoroastrian influence throughout this chapter.

²² Heb. באותותם. Literally "in their (distinctive) marks." The spirits of truth and error (or, prince of light and angel of darkness) are distinguished in the section which follows by the virtues and vices which they impart to human character. I Enoch 61: 12 classifies one species of spirit as "every spirit of light." I Enoch 41: 8 says that God "made a separation between the light and the darkness, and divided the spirits of men."

²³ Cf. "works of light" in Test. of Naph. 2: 10; and "works of darkness" in Rom. 13: 12; Eph. 5: 11.

²⁴ Heb. *bedorotham* cannot mean here "in their generations," for that idea has already been expressed by *betholedoth* of line 13. The distinction between the *doroth* is one of character, rather than chronology. There are basically two so-called "generations" (really societies), the righteous and the wicked. For this meaning of *dor*, cf. Ps. 14: 5; 24: 6, 112: 2; Deut. 32: 5, 20; Prov. 30: 11-14; Matthew 12: 39; 17: 17. Cf. Frank J. Neuberg, "An Unrecognized Meaning of Hebrew *Dor*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 4, Oct., 1950, pp. 215 ff.

²⁵ Cf. I Sam. 2: 3 (after F. W. Y. and H. L. G.).

²⁶ I am dependent upon H. L. G. for pointing out the use of the *Niph'al* participle for future tense. Cf. i, 18 and Note. Cf. also CDC xiii, 8 (16: 1).

- 16 He established all the design of them. | And after they exist,
according to their ordinances²⁷ (in accordance with His
glorious purpose), they fulfill their task; and nothing can be
17 changed. Under His control | are the laws of all;²⁸ and He
sustains them in all their pursuits. Now, He created man for
18 dominion over | the world²⁹ and assigned him two spirits by
which to walk until the season of His visitation. They are
19 the spirits of | truth and perversion.³⁰ From a spring³¹ of
light [issue] the generations of truth; but from a fountain of
20 darkness [issue] the generations of perverseness.³² | In the
hand of the prince of lights³³ is the rule over all the sons of
righteousness; in the ways of light they walk.³⁴ But in the
21 hand of | the angel of darkness is all the rule over the sons of
perversion;³⁵ and in the ways of darkness they walk.³⁶ And
22 it is because of the angel of darkness | that all the sons of
righteousness *go astray*; so all their sin and their iniquities
and their guilt and the transgressions of their deeds are under
23 his dominion | (according to God's mysteries),³⁷ until his end-
time;³⁸ while all their afflictions and their seasons of distress
24 are under the dominion of his hostility.³⁹ | And all the spirits
allotted him [strive] to trip the sons of light; but the God of
25 Israel and His angel of truth have helped | all the sons of light.
He created the spirits of light and darkness and upon them⁴⁰
26 He founded every work, | [and upon] their [ways] every service,
and upon their ways [ever]y [ser]vice.⁴¹ The one [spirit] God
iv, 1 has loved || for all the duration of the ages; and in all its
activities He delights forever. As for the other, He has loathed
its counsel,¹ and all its ways He has hated forever. |
2 Now these are their ways in the world: [The way of the
Spirit of truth is²] to enlighten the heart of man, and to make
straight before him all the ways of true righteousness, and to
3 make his heart tremble with the judgments of | God, and a
spirit of humility and slowness to anger, and great compassion
and eternal goodness, and understanding and insight and
4 mighty wisdom which believes³ in all | God's works⁴ and
leans⁵ upon His abundant mercy, and a spirit of knowledge⁶
in every purposeful work, and zeal for righteous laws, and a |
5 holy *purpose* with steadfast intent,⁷ and great devotion to
all the children of truth, and glorious purity, loathing all
6 impure idols, and walking humbly⁸ | in the prudence of all
that is discreet⁹ according to the truth of the mysteries of
knowledge. These are the counsels of the Spirit¹⁰ for the sons
of truth in the world; and the visitation of all who walk by it¹¹
7 consists in¹² healing | and abundant peace during length of
days,¹³ and to bear seed¹⁴ with all everlasting blessings, and

²⁷ Heb., וְכַהֲנִיּוֹת לְתַעֲבוֹדוֹתָם—referring to creation generally. Cf. xi, 11.

²⁸ Lit., "In His hand | are the judgments of all"—"judgments" being employed as a synonym of "ordinances" mentioned just before.

²⁹ Cf. Gen. 1: 27 f., Ps. 8: 7 (8: 6).

³⁰ Heb. רִחוּת וְהַעֲוִל הָאֶחָד—doubtless the Hebrew underlying the Greek of Test. of Jud. 20: 1, which R. H. Charles translates "the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit." Cf. I Jn. 4: 6 where the same Greek is usually rendered: "spirit of truth

and spirit of *error*." Cf. "Prince of Deceit" of Test. of Sim. 2: 7 and Test. of Jud. 19: 4, likewise "spirits of deceit," Test. of Iss. 4: 4; T. of N. 3: 3; T. of A. 6: 2; T. of R. 2: 1; T. of S. 6: 6; T. of L. 3: 3. Cf. "angel of peace," Test. of Ben. 6: 1. See also Hermas, Man. vi, 2: 1-10, and Zarathustra's hymn, Ys. xxx.

³¹ Emending בְּמַעֲיָן (in a spring) to מַעֲיָן. Cf. following clause.

³² Heb. for "generations" the same as in line 13—*toledhoth*, which has the root meaning of birth, or that which is born. The word is well chosen for use with "spring" or "fountain" sometimes employed of the female pudenda (Cant. 4: 12; Lev. 20: 18). Cf. "those who were born in darkness" (I En. 108: 11, 15). I En. 108: 11: "and now I will summon the spirits of good who belong to the *generation of light*, and I will transform those who were born in darkness." It is noteworthy that Charles discovered an "Essene tone of this chapter" of I En.

³³ Occurring once in CDC at v, 18 (7: 19) in antithesis to Belial. Cf. "An angel of light," II Cor. 11: 14; and "spirit of light" I En. 61: 12.

³⁴ Cf. I. Jn. 1: 7, Eph. 5: 8; II En. 30: 15.

³⁵ Cf. Lk. 22: 53, Jn. 12: 31, 14: 30, 16: 11, II Cor. 4: 4, Eph. 6: 12, Col. 1: 13, I Pet. 2: 9. Cf. "the Black One," Ep. Barn. 20: 1 (cf. 9: 4).

³⁶ Cf. I Jn. 1: 6, 2: 11, Jn. 8: 12, 11: 10, 12: 35, Rom. 13: 13, esp. Prov. 2: 13.

³⁷ Cf. Wis. of Sol. 2: 22; I Cor. 4: 1.

³⁸ The "his" may possibly refer to God.

³⁹ Heb., בְּמַשְׁמַתָּה. Cf. "Angel of Mastema (or, hostility)," CDC xvi, 5 (20: 2). In the Book of Jubilees, Mastema is the name of the chief of demons (10: 8; 11: 5, 11; 17: 16; 18: 9, 12; 19: 28; 48: 2, 9, 12, 15; 49: 2). Cf. Sukenik, *Mcq. Gen.* I, Pl. ix, line 8.

⁴⁰ Heb., עֲלֵיהֶן for עֲלֵיהֶן. Cf. Aramaic feminine plural suffix. See above Col. i, Note 36.

⁴¹ A fortunate dittography enables me to restore the Hebrew thus: וְעַל דְּרָכָיו הֵן כּוֹל [וְעַל דְּרָכָיו] וְעַל דְּרָכָיו. עֲבֹדָה וְעַל דְּרָכָיו [כּוֹל] וְעַל דְּרָכָיו.

COLUMN iv, NOTES

¹ Heb. for "counsel" is *sod*, used of evil advice it gives men.

² The respective traits of the Spirit of Truth (or light) and of the spirit of perversion (or darkness) are treated in a contrastive manner in the sections iv, 2-6 and iv, 9-11 respectively. The heading to the first list has been lost through accidental scribal omission, or through oversight on the part of the author (as M. B. suggests). Cf. the "fruit of the Spirit" in Gal. 5: 22 f. It is noteworthy that the traits of the Spirit of Truth are presented in an ascending scale according to developing religious experience. See "way of light," Barn. 19: 1, 12.

³ Reading with M. B. the *Hiph'il* feminine participle מִאֲמַנָּה in agreement with חֲכָמָה.

⁴ Cf. Heb. Ben-Sira 39: 16; CDC xiii, 7-8 (16: 1) and John 6: 28 f., 9: 3.

⁵ Heb., נִשְׁעָנָה the *Niph'al* feminine participle, still agreeing with חֲכָמָה.

⁶ Heb., *ruh da'ath*, as in Isaiah 11: 2.

⁷ Heb., *yets'er samukh*, as in Isaiah 26: 3. Cf. viii, 3.

⁸ Cf. Micah: 6: 8.

⁹ Or "the subtlety of all that is hidden." Heb., עֲרָמָה is used here in a good sense as opposed to its use in line 11 below ("crafty thought").

¹⁰ Heb., *sodê ruah*. The word "counsels" seems to refer to the righteous traits listed in the above paragraph. Since the spirit advises these, "the counsels of the Spirit" are equivalent to the virtues which it inspires.

¹¹ I. e., by the Spirit of Truth. Cf. Gal. 5: 16-25.

¹² "Consists in" translates the Hebrew *Lamedh*, which might be interpreted as indicating tendency or result, but in Hebrew thought God's rewards are his "visitation" and not merely the result of it.

¹³ Heb., בְּאוֹרֵךְ יָמַיִם. Cf. Psalm 23: 6.

¹⁴ Heb., וּפְרוֹת זָרַע. This would seem to indicate that the sect married as did the "Covenanters of Damascus" and the marrying sect of Essenes mentioned by Josephus (*J. W.* II, 160-161).

For a thorough comparison of the Covenanters with the Essenes, cf. Millar Burrows, "The Discipline Manual of the Judaean Covenanters," *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, ed. P. A. H. deBoer, Deel viii, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1950, also my article "A Comparison of the Covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls with pre-Christian Jewish Sects," *BA*, Sept., 1950.

eternal rejoicing¹⁵ in the victorious life of eternity,¹⁶ and a
 8 crown of glory,¹⁷ | together with raiment of majesty¹⁸ in
 eternal light.¹⁹

9 But to the spirit of perversion belong greediness,²⁰ indolence
 of the hands in the service of righteousness, wickedness and
 falsehood, pride and haughtiness of heart, lying and deceit,
 10 cruelty | and gross impiety, quick temper and abundant folly
 and proud jealousy, loathsome works in an infidel spirit and
 11 ways of pollution in service of uncleanness, | and a blas-
 phemous tongue,²¹ blindness of eyes and dullness of ears, stiff-
 ness of neck and hardening the heart to walk in all the ways of
 12 darkness and crafty thought.²² And the visitation of | all
 who walk by it²³ consists in¹² a multitude of plagues²⁴ through
 all angels of affliction,²⁵ in eternal ruin through the furious
 13 anger of the God of vengeance, in everlasting terror | and
 perpetual disgrace, together with the shame of destruction
 in the fire of the dark regions;²⁶ and all their times in their
 generations²⁷ will be in grievous mourning and bitter misfor-
 14 tune amid the calamities²⁸ of darkness until | their destruc-
 tion, without remnant or survivor of them.²⁹ |

15 In these [two spirits] are the families of all mankind;³⁰ and
 in their divisions do all their hosts receive an inheritance
 according to their [respective] societies³¹ and in their ways do
 16 they walk; and in their divisions is all the action of | their
 deeds, according to the inheritance of each, whether much or
 little, for all the periods of the ages. For God has set them
 17 [i.e., the two spirits³²] in equal parts³³ until the | last
 period,³⁴ and He has put eternal enmity between their
 divisions; an abomination to truth are acts of wrong-doing; an
 abomination to wrong-doing are all ways of truth. And pas-
 18 sionate | strife pertains to all their practices,³⁵ for they do not
 walk together. Now God through the mysteries of His under-
 standing and through His glorious wisdom has appointed a
 period for the existence of wrong-doing; but at the season of |
 19 visitation, He will destroy it forever; and then the truth of
 the world will appear forever.³⁶ For it has been defiled by
 [or, has wallowed in]³⁷ the ways of wickedness under the
 20 dominion of wrong-doing until | the season of the decreed
 judgment.³⁸ And then God will purge by His truth all the
 deeds of man, refining³⁹ for himself some of mankind in order
 21 to abolish every evil spirit from the midst of⁴⁰ | his flesh, and
 to cleanse him⁴¹ through a Holy Spirit from all wicked prac-
 tices, sprinkling upon him a Spirit of truth as purifying water⁴²
 to cleanse from all untrue abominations and from wallowing |
 22 in [or, being defiled by]⁴³ the spirit of impurity⁴⁴—so as to
 give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High
 and into the wisdom of the sons of Heaven,⁴⁵ to give the perfect
 of way understanding. For God has chosen them for an eternal
 23 covenant⁴⁶ | so that theirs is all the glory of Adam [or man];⁴⁷

¹⁵ Heb., וְשִׂמְחָת עוֹלָמִים. Cf. Isaiah 35: 10; 51: 11; 61: 7.

¹⁶ Heb., נֶצַח חַיִּי as in CDC iii, 20 (5: 6). The primary meaning of נֶצַח here is

"eternity," but it carries also the connotation of victory as may be seen from its root meaning, and the use of its cognates. Cf. the association of the word נצחא (victor) with "crown" in Targum II Esth, I, 2: כליל ריש דנצחין (the crown of the chief of victors)—the same word for "crown" is employed as here. Cf. I Cor. 9: 25. The word לנצח of Isaiah 25: 8 was interpreted by Paul in I Cor. 15: 54 to mean *vikos*, "victory," the same rendering as the LXX at II Sam. 2: 26.

¹⁷ Heb., כליל כבוד—taking כליל in its Aramaic sense. For the "crown of glory" in other terminology see Isaiah 28: 5; 62: 3; Jeremiah 13: 18. In N. T. see I Peter 5: 4. In Heb. Sir. 45: 8, cf. כריל תפארת. Cf. also T. of Ben. 4: 1.

¹⁸ Heb., מדה דרר. The word מדה is probably an equivalent of מדר, or (as H. L. G. suggests) it is the singular of the word מדים. In Talmudic sources is used in the sense of "reward." Both meanings are, of course, appropriate here; but the mention of the "crown" just before favors the meaning "garment." Cf. "garments of glory," I En. 62: 15, II En. 22: 8.

¹⁹ For reward in light, cf. I Enoch, 58: 6, 108: 12.

²⁰ Heb., רחבו נפש—"breadth of appetite." Cf. Is. 5: 14; Hab. 2: 5. Here we have a list of vices presented in the descending order of one who sinks lower and lower in sin. For another list of vices presented in order of increasing wickedness cf. Romans 1: 21-24. Cf. "Way of death," Didache 5 (cf. Barn. 20).

²¹ Cf. CDC v, 11 f. (7: 12).

²² Heb., ערמה רוע—the word ערמה being used in a bad sense here as opposed to its use in line 6 above.

²³ I. e., by the spirit of perversion. Cf. line 6 above and note 15.

²⁴ Cf. Jub. 36: 10. Cf. iii, 14.

²⁵ Heb., מלאכי חבל as in CDC ii, 6 (2: 4) which Schechter took in the sense of "Angels of destruction," a phrase of frequent occurrence in Rabbinic literature. Cf. "angels of punishment" in I En. 63: 1; 66: 1.

²⁶ Heb., באש מושכים. On "fire" with "darkness," cf. ii, 8 and Note 10 there, with references.

²⁷ I. e., forever (cf. Lev. 3: 17). The meaning "societies" is unlikely here.

²⁸ Reading בהנוות, the plural of הוה with M. B. For punishment in darkness cf. ii, 8; I Enoch 10: 4, 5; 11: 6, 7; 41: 8; 46: 6; 62: 10; 63: 6, 11; 92: 5, 103: 8; 108: 14. Cf. line 13 and Note 32, Wis. of Sol. 18: 4 (a work showing Essene influence?); II En. 7: 1 ff.; 10: 2; Sibyl iv, 43.

²⁹ Cf. CDC ii, 6 f. (2: 5), and especially Ezra 9: 14.

³⁰ Heb., שני בני איש both here and in line 20.

³¹ Cf. iii, 14 and note 24 there.

³² Heb., שמן, the *Nun* being (as M. B. has observed) the feminine pronominal suffix referring to the spirits.

³³ Heb., *badh bevadh*; cf. Ex. 30: 34.

³⁴ Cf. "the last time" in I Pet. 1: 5; I Jn. 2: 18; Jude 18.

³⁵ H. L. G. paraphrases, "Passionate hostility is in all their behavior."

³⁶ Heb. *tetse lanetsah*, perhaps "emerge victorious." Cf. Hab. 1: 4; Is. 42: 3.

³⁷ Heb., התהגוללה. Cf. II Samuel 20: 12; Isa. 9: 4; and line 21 f. below.

³⁸ Heb., משפט נחרצה, literally "the judgment of that which is determined." The Niph'al feminine participle is used as a substantive after Isa. 10: 23; 28: 22; Dan. 9: 26, 27; 11: 36, as H. L. G. points out.

³⁹ Heb. בן יוקק as in Malachi 3: 3.

⁴⁰ Heb., מוחבמי. Apparently the poetic particle מו used in the Old Testament with ב, נ, and ל is used here with מוחבמי. Yet the emendation of S. I. is worthy of serious consideration, מוחבמי + the following suffix בשר, with the omission of the pronominal suffix Waw—"from the wise of flesh." Cf. I Cor. 1: 26.

⁴¹ Heb., למהרו also appearing in Malachi 3: 3.

⁴² Heb., נדה, cf. iii, 4 (and note). On spiritual baptism, cf. Isaiah 32: 15; 44: 3; Ezekiel 36: 25, 27; 39: 29; Joel 3: 1-2 (2: 28-29); Mark 1: 8; John 1: 33; Acts 1: 5; I Cor. 12: 13.

⁴³ Heb. as in line 19 above, and as in CDC iii, 17 (5: 4) where one reads, "but they wallowed in the transgression of man and in the ways of unclean woman." Cf. Sir. 23: 12.

⁴⁴ Heb., רוח נדה apparently stands in antithesis here to the "spirit of truth."

⁴⁵ Meaning "sons of God" as applied to angels. Cf. I Enoch 6: 2; 13: 8; 14: 3.

⁴⁶ Cf. Gen. 17: 7, 13, 19; Ex. 31: 16; Lev. 24: 8; I Chron. 16: 17; Is. 24: 5, 55: 3, 61: 8; Jer. 32: 40; Ez. 16: 60, 37: 26; Sir. 45: 7, 15; Ps. of Sol. 10: 5; CDC ii, 7 (2: 6).

⁴⁷ Cf. CDC iii, 20 (5: 6). On the side of interpreting אדם as man there is Psalm

and there will be no wrong-doing, and there will be put to shame all works of fraud. Until now⁴⁸ the spirits of truth and
 24 perversion strive within man's heart; | they walk in wisdom
 and folly [respectively]; and according as man's inheritance is
 in truth and righteousness, so he hates evil; but in so far as
 his heritage is in the portion of perversity and wickedness in
 25 him, so | he abominates truth. For God has set them [i.e.,
 the two spirits]⁴⁹ in equal parts until the period of the decree⁵⁰
 and the making of the New;⁵¹ and He knows the action of
 26 their deeds for all the periods of | their [striving];⁵² and He
 apportions them to mankind that man may know good [and
 evil, and that He may allot⁵³ the portions to every living
 being according to his spirit within [him until the season of]
 visitation. ||

*The Practice of the Community—
 Its Separated and Orderly Life*

v, 1 Now this is the practice¹ of the men of the Community²
 who dedicate themselves to turn from all evil and to hold
 firmly³ to all that He commanded according to His good
 pleasure: to separate themselves from the congregation⁴ of |
 2 perverse men*, to become a Community in Torah and in
 property,⁵ answering [their legal questions]⁶ according to the
 sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant,⁷ and accord-
 3 ing to the majority⁸ of the men | of the Community who hold
 firmly to the covenant.⁹ According to their judgment the
 divinely guided decision is reached¹⁰ with regard to every
 matter, whether Torah, or property, or laws, to practice truth
 4 [or, faithfulness], unity¹¹ and humility, | righteousness,¹² and
 justice,¹³ and loving devotion,¹⁴ and walking humbly in all
 their ways, in which¹⁵ none shall walk in the stubbornness of
 5 his heart to go astray after his own heart¹⁶ | and his own
 eyes and his own impulsive desire;¹⁷ but EAM¹⁸ is to cir-
 cumcise in the Community the uncircumcision of desire¹⁹
 and the stiff neck, to lay a foundation of truth for Israel (for
 6 the Community of | eternal covenant), to atone for all those
 who dedicate themselves for holiness in (= among) Aaron and

8: 6 (8: 5) but the reference to the sinless state reminds one of the innocence of Adam before the Fall.

⁴⁸ Heb. for phrase as in CDC ii, 17 (3: 3).

⁴⁹ Cf. Note 32 above.

⁵⁰ Literally, "the time of that which is decreed." Cf. Note 38 above.

⁵¹ Heb., ועשות חדשה. Cf. Isa. 43: 19; 65: 17; 66: 22.

⁵² At the end of the lacuna is an apparent *Nun*, perhaps the feminine plural pronominal suffix referring to the spirits. I am uncertain as to the restoration, but I propose ן[ריבה], which seems to be the sort of word required after the striving of the spirits in line 23. Cf. Gal. 5. 17.

⁵³ Restoring the text on the basis of Genesis 2: 9 and 3: 5, as follows: לרעה טוב חי וגם רע ולה פיל גורלות לכול חי.

⁵⁴ Restoring ה[פקודה] ב[ו] ער מועד ה. For "season of visitation," cf. ll. 18-19 above, and compare also "season of judgment," line 20.

¹ Heb., וזה חסר, as in vi, 8. Cf. וזה חסר of CDC x, 4 (11:1); xii, 22 (15:4); xiii, 7 (16:1) which R. H. Charles translates "And this is the regulation." Cf. DSD ii, 20 and note.

² Heb., אנשי היחיד. Cf. בני אנשי היחיד of CDC xx, 32 (9:53). Cf. Note 4 of Column i.

³ Heb., להחזיק. For the use of this verb cf. CDC iii, 12, 20 (5:1,6); xix, 14 (9:12); xx, 27 (9:50). On the line as a whole, cf. DSD i, 4, 5.

⁴ Cf. Num. 16:21; Prov. 29:27, and contrast the saying of Hillel and Zadok in Pirqê Aboth 2:5; 4:7—"Separate thyself not from the congregation." Cf. also Jn. 17:15-18.

⁵ In this type of communism the sectaries of DSD were like the Essenes (Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, ii, 122) and primitive Christians (Acts 2:44 ff.). The word translated "property" both here and elsewhere is Heb. הון generally rendered "wealth."

⁶ Heb., ומשיבים. E. L. Sukenik (*op. cit.*, p. 30) suggests that the word may mean: "Assuming the obligation of decisions of the wise men of the sect (cf. Prov. 26:16), and perhaps meaning the obligation of the men of the sect to reply to those who interrogate them on matters of Torah according to the decisions of the Zadokites." The further suggestion of Sukenik that the word refers to repentance is hardly pertinent. S. I. rightly sees in this passage the basis of the sect's opposition to the Pharisees. They follow a different tradition of how legal norms are to be derived. As he, I would interpret these questions as arising within the life of the sect, not coming from the outside of the Community. Cf. lines 16, 21 f.

⁷ Cf. Ez. 44:15; 48:11 and the prominence of the "sons of Zadok" in CDC which has occasioned its being called by Solomon Schechter and R. H. Charles "Fragments of a Zadokite Work," with its sectaries known as the "Zadokites."

⁸ Or, "multitude," Heb., *rov*. Cf. lines 9, 22.

⁹ Heb., as in Isa. 56:4.

¹⁰ Literally, "At their mouth the decision of the lot comes forth." That the lot is not literal is apparent both from the context and from CDC xiii, 4 (15:6) where the phrase "the lot comes forth" is certainly figurative. Cf. DSD vi, 16 and note. E. L. Sukenik supports this interpretation (*loc. cit.*) when he defines *tikkun haggoral* as קביעת החלטה (reaching a decision). I suggest, however, that *goral* (lot) still retains the connotation of divine will from the earlier practice of casting lots. Cf. Acts 15:28, 22.

¹¹ Heb., יחד, which H. L. G. would emend to וחסר ("and loyalty"). Yet cf. "in true Unity" of ii, 24. Perhaps there has been a transposition of words, so that the correct text here should be "true Unity." Yet "truth" stands by itself in i, 5; viii, 2; and probably also in x, 26.

¹² Heb., ועניוה צדקה, where one is inclined to emend the first word to ועניוה or the second to צדיקה so as to obtain "righteous humility" to correspond with "good humility" of ii, 24. Yet צדקה stands alone in i, 5 and viii, 2.

¹³ Cf. "practice justice and righteousness" (Jer. 33:15, Ez. 18:5). The reversal of the order is occasioned by Micah 6:8 where "justice" precedes the next items mentioned here.

¹⁴ Cf. Micah 6:8.

¹⁵ Heb., אשר—which H. L. G. translates "so that," after the analogy of Malachi 3:19 [4:1].

¹⁶ Cf. i, 6.

¹⁷ Lit., "the purpose of his *yetser*" (cf. Test. of Gad. 5:3). Cf. the common occurrence of this word in Sir. and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The phrases "yetser hara'" and "yetser ha'tov" known from Test. of B. 6:4 and Pirqê Aboth 2:15, and current in later Rabbinic literature do not occur in DSD or CDC—an indication of their early date? Cf., however, *Yetser ashmah* in CDC ii, 16 (3:2).

¹⁸ Heb., ואם (with the identification of *Waw* or *Yodh* as always open to question), which I interpret as the conjunction *Waw* and a surrogate of *Yahweh* (cf. *HUHA* in viii, 13). For meaning of this surrogate, cf. Appendix C.

¹⁹ Cf. Deut. 10:16 and 30:6; Jer. 4:4; DSH xi, 13.

for a house of truth in Israel²⁰ and for those who join them²¹
 7 for Community, and for suit, and for judgment,²² | so as to
 convict²³ all transgressors of ordinances. Now these are to
 direct their ways according to all these ordinances: When
 they are assembled in Community, everyone who comes to
 8 the council [or, for the counsel] of the Community | shall enter
 into the covenant of God in the sight of all the dedicated ones.
 Then he shall take a binding oath²⁴ to return to the Torah of
 Moses²⁵ according to all that he commanded, with wholeness |
 9 of heart and wholeness of soul²⁶ toward all that is revealed of
 it to [or, for] the Sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the
 covenant²⁷ and who seek his good pleasure, and to [or, for]
 10 the majority of the men of their covenant | who communally
 dedicate themselves to His truth and to walking in His good
 pleasure. He shall further²⁸ bind himself by a covenant²⁹ to
 11 separate himself from all perverse men who walk | in the way
 of wickedness. For these are not reckoned³⁰ in His covenant,
 for they have not sought or inquired after Him in His ordi-
 12 nances to know the unconscious sins³¹ | into which *they have
 strayed* incurring guilt;³² while the conscious sins they have
 done wilfully,³³ with the result that they raise up anger unto
 judgment and unto the exacting of vengeance³⁴ through the
 13 curses of the covenant,³⁵ bringing upon themselves | the great
 judgments unto an eternal destruction without remnant.³⁶

These may not enter into water to [be permitted to] touch
 the Purity of the holy men,³⁷ for they will not be cleansed |
 14 unless they have turned from their wickedness,³⁸ for uncleanness
 clings³⁹ to all transgressors of His word. He [who enters
 the covenant must] further [swear that he will] not unite with
 a [perverse] man⁴⁰ in his labor and in his property, lest he
 15 cause him to incur | guilt of transgression;⁴¹ for he must keep
 far from him⁴² in every matter, for thus it is written: "Thou
 shalt keep far from every false matter."⁴³ And further,⁴⁴ no
 16 man of the men of | the community may answer [legal ques-
 tions] according to their opinion⁴⁵ in regard to any teaching
 or laws. Moreover,⁴⁶ he may not eat anything of theirs,⁴⁷ nor
 17 drink, nor take from their hand anything whatsoever | except
 for a price, as it is written:

Cease ye from man whose breath is in his nostrils,
 For of what value is he to be reckoned?⁴⁸

18 For | all who are not reckoned in His covenant are to be
 separated, both they and all they have; and the holy men
 19 may not rely upon any of the deeds of | vanity. For vain
 are all who do not recognize His covenant; and all who despise
 His word He will destroy from the world, since all their deeds
 20 are uncleanness | before Him and uncleanness is in all⁴⁹ their
 property. Now, when he [i. e., the neophyte] enters into the
 covenant to do according to all these ordinances, to be united
 21 to a holy congregation,⁵⁰ they shall examine | his spirit⁵¹ in
 the Community between a man and his fellow with respect
 to his understanding and his deeds in Torah, in accordance

²⁰ As in CDC, Aaron and Israel are brought together, representing the priests and the laity, respectively. Cf. CDC i, 7 (1:5); xx, 1 (9:29). The parallelism between קודש and בית suggests that the former may have the meaning "sanctuary" here, as well as "holiness." Cf. ix, 6 and Note 10.

²¹ Or perhaps, "all those dedicated . . . those attached," the latter term referring to Levites rather than to new recruits; but cf. use of the word in connection with proselytes who join the Jews (Is. 14:1, 56:3, 6, Zechariah 2:15, (11), Esth. 9:27). Yet see the use of the verb in Numbers 18:4 (cf. Gen. 29:34) as applied to the Levites who join or attach themselves to Aaron and his sons (Num. 18:1-3), the verb join and Levite being of the same root. Cf. also CDC iv, 3 (6:1) where those who join the priests are interpreted by R. H. Charles to be the Levites.

²² Cf. CDC xiv, 12 (17:8) and II Sam. 15:4.

²³ Perhaps this last infinitive is linked closely with what immediately precedes. It need not have EAM as its subject.

²⁴ Literally, "he shall confirm upon his soul with a binding oath." Cf. Num. 30:3, 9. Read *yaqim* (*Hiph'il*) as in line 10; the *Qal*, CDC xvi, 1 (19:14) is an error.

²⁵ Cf. the strikingly similar passage in CDC xv, 11 ff. (19:11 ff.), also Neh. 10:28 f.

²⁶ Cf. II Chron. 6:38 and CDC xv, 13 (19:12).

²⁷ Cf. line 2 above.

²⁸ Heb. וְאִשָּׁר interpreted according to H. L. G. (cf. lines 14, 15, 16) after the analogy of Neh. 10:31 (10:30).

²⁹ Literally, "he shall confirm by a covenant upon his soul."

³⁰ Heb., הִתְחַשְׁבוּ—the *Hoph'al* stem (not recorded elsewhere), or more probably a mistake for the *Hithpa'el*. CDC xix, 35 (9:29) employs the verb in the imperfect of the *Niph'al* stem (presumably). The *Niph'al* perfect appears below, line 18.

³¹ Literally, "hidden things" as in Ps. 19:12. CDC iii, 14 f. (5:1 f.) interprets these as errors in the observance of the Sabbath and of other holy seasons.

³² Emending לְאִשְׁמָה לְאִשְׁמָה with H. L. G., rather than reading לְאִשְׁ שָׁמָ ("to the fire of desolation").

³³ Literally, "with a high hand."

³⁴ Cf. Ez. 24:8.

³⁵ H. L. G. emends *Beth* to *Kaph* so as to read, "according to the curses of the Covenant" in agreement with Deut. 29:20 (29:21); yet "through" is intelligible here, the curses (perhaps those of ii, 5-9 and ii, 11-17) being thought of as themselves bringing the doom invoked. For the expression "curses of the Covenant" cf. CDC i, 17 (1:12); xv, 2 (19:2).

³⁶ Cf. iv, 14.

³⁷ The perverse men of line 10 (i.e., non-sectarians) may not even after purification touch the Purity of the holy men (the sectarians). This Purity may consist of such items as food, vessels, rites, or even the bodies of the holy men. Cf. vi, 16 and Note 41. For "holy men," literally "men of holiness," cf. Ex. 22:30 [22:31]; v, 18; viii, 17, 23; ix, 8.

³⁸ Cf. iii, 4 ff. Cf. Mat. 3:7-10, Lk. 3:7-14.

³⁹ Heb., טָמֵא בְכֹל, interpreted according to H. L. G. who reads the adjective employed as a noun in the sense of "something unclean." Cf. e.g., Lev. 7:19, 21; 10:10; 14:57; Jud. 13:4; Ezek. 22:26; 44:23.

⁴⁰ Heb., וְאִשָּׁר לֹא יוֹדֵד עִמּוֹ, interpreted according to H. L. G. Cf. CDC xx, 7.

⁴¹ I.e., lest the perverse man (cf. line 10) cause the sectary to incur guilt. Cf. Sir. 13:17; I Cor. 15:33. Contrast Test. of Ben. 8:3.

⁴² I.e., the sectarian from the non-sectarian. Cf. Pirqê Aboth 1:16; 2:13.

⁴³ Ex. 23:7. The "every" represents a variant, or textual addition of DSD.

⁴⁴ Heb., וְאִשָּׁר, interpreted according to H. L. G.

⁴⁵ I.e., according to non-sectarian opinion. Cf. line 2 and Note 6.

⁴⁶ Heb., וְאִשָּׁר. Cf. lines 10, 14, 15 and Notes 28, 40, 44; also ix, 16 and Note 30.

⁴⁷ Literally, "he may not eat of their property at all." Cf. the oaths of the Essenes which prevented them from eating non-sectarian food (*J. W.* II, 143).

⁴⁸ Isa. 2:22.

⁴⁹ Heb. the same as in line 14; cf. Note 39. Cf. iii, 2 f.

⁵⁰ For the verb, cf. i, 8 and Note 16 there. For the word congregation cf. line 1 and CDC vii, 20 (9:9); x, 4 (11:1).

⁵¹ Literally, "their spirit." Heb., רוּחֵם. Cf. i, 21 and Note 36 there; also ix, 14 and Note 25 there.

- with the views of the sons of Aaron who are dedicated unitedly
 22 to establish | His covenant and to administer all His ordinances
 which He commanded [them] to do, and in accordance with
 the views of the majority of Israel⁵² who are dedicated to
 23 turn unitedly to His covenant. | Then one shall enroll them⁵³
 in order,⁵⁴ each before his fellow, according to his understand-
 ing and his deeds,⁵⁵ that they all may obey each his fellow,
 24 the lesser the greater; and they shall | examine their spirit⁵⁶
 and their deeds,⁵⁷ year by year to promote each according to
 his understanding and the perfection of his way, or to retard
 25 him⁵⁸ according to his perversions, that | each *may reprove*
 his fellow in t[rut]h⁵⁹ and humility and loving devotion⁶⁰
 to each other. One shall not speak to his brother⁶¹ in anger,
 26 or in complaint, | or with a [stiff] neck, [or a callous heart, or]
 a wicked spirit; nor shall he hate him [in the uncircumcision]
 of his heart⁶²—though he shall reprove him on the very day so
 vi, 1 as not || to incur guilt because of him.¹ Indeed, a man shall not
 bring accusation against his fellow in the presence of the
 Many² who has not been subject to [previous] reproof before
 witnesses.³
- 2 In these [regulations] | let them walk in all their dwellings,
 everyone who is present, each with his fellow.⁴ The lesser shall
 obey the greater, in regard to goods and means.⁵ They shall
 3 eat communally, | and bless communally, and take counsel
 communally;⁶ and in every place where there are ten men⁷ of
 the council of the Community, there shall not cease from
 4 among them a man | who is priest.⁸ And let each one accord-
 ing to his assigned position [or rank?]⁹ sit before him; and in
 that order let them be asked for their counsel with regard to
 every matter.¹⁰ And it shall be when they arrange the table
 5 to eat, or [arrange] the wine | to drink, the priest shall first
 stretch out his hand to invoke a blessing with the first of the
 bread *or the wine to drink, the priest shall first stretch out his*
 6 *hand | to invoke a blessing with the first of the bread*¹¹ and the
 wine.¹² And in whatever place the ten are, there shall not
 cease to be a man who expounds the Torah day and night |
 7 continually, [expounding] orally¹³ each to his fellow. And let

⁵² Cf. above lines 2 f., 16. The true Israel is to be identified with the sectarian Community.

⁵³ Heb., וכתבם, with the subject unexpressed. In vi, 22 this enrolling appears to be the work of the Supervisor who is mentioned in vi, 12, 14, 20. H. L. G., however, believes that the verb may be read וכתבום as in CDC xiii, 12 (16: 5), since apparently the *Waw* indicating the plural verb is never written before a suffix in DSD. Cf. לוא בקשו ולוא דרשהו of v, 11.

⁵⁴ Heb., *beserekh*, as in i, 16; ii, 20.

⁵⁵ Cf. CDC xiii, 11 (16: 4).

⁵⁶ Heb., ולהיות פוקדם את רוחם, if we take פוקדם to be defectively spelled for פוקדים, the literal translation will run: "And (they are) to be examining their spirit and their deeds . . ." The participle is used here in view of the recurrence of the examination year after year. Cf. the use of מברכים . . . יהיו in i, 18 f. For the occasion of annual promotion, cf. Appendix G.

⁵⁷ Cf. line 21.

⁵⁸ Heb., לאחרו, which need not mean "demote," a complete antithesis to "pro

mote" (להעלות), but simply to "retard," or not to advance him. Cf. iv, 15 ff. where the Community examines and advances the neophytes from year to year.

⁵⁰ Restoring [מת]. The top of the last letter is sufficiently visible to make certain the restoration.

⁵¹ The "love of mercy" of Micah 6: 8. On the spirit of reproof, cf. Gal. 6: 1; II Thess. 3: 15; II Tim. 2: 23 ff.; 4: 2.

⁵² Emending (after S. I.) an apparent אלוהיהו to אלוהיהו, rather than following my earlier suggestion of reading [הו] אלוהיהו = אלוהיהו, the last two letters understood as a dittography.

⁵³ Restoring the Heb. thus: רוח רשע ואל ישנאהו [קשה וכבוד לב און]. Cf. Jer. 4: 4; DSH xi, 13; Lev. 19: 17. S. I. has proposed [בכתלי] לבבו, but the context requires an adversative reference to the heart. If the above reading be regarded as unsatisfactory, some other words such as באולת or בכסלת (an alternative of S. I.) may be considered.

COLUMN vi, NOTES

¹ Cf. Lev. 19: 17, CDC ix, 6-8 (10: 4-5), ix, 22 (10: 13); Sir. 20: 2.

² The term "Many" appears to be used as a technical term for the membership. Cf. lines 8, 9, 11, 13, 16. M. B. suggests that in the use of the word הרבים there may be a reflection of Dan. 11: 33, 12: 3 (with which cf. 8: 25; 9: 27; 11: 18, 34, 44; 12: 2-4). Cf. use of the term in CDC xiii, 7 (16: 1), xiv, 12 (18: 1).

³ The Hebrew of this line is nearly identical with CDC ix, 3 (10: 2). CDC reads a difficult בהוכח which R. H. Charles has said is "corrupt for הוכח or נוכח = 'which was not proved.' The text would then refer to slanders." The alternative adopted by Charles was the former; for he translates, "whom he had not rebuked before witnesses." DSD, however, offers us still a third possibility (in view of the presence of a difficult ב in CDC), that CDC is corrupt for בהוכח, the reading of DSD.

The teaching of Jesus in Mat. 18: 15-17 gives us the clue for interpreting the passage. Jesus specifies three stages for dealing with an erring brother: (1) personal reproof, v. 15, (2) reproof before witnesses, v. 16, (3) reproof before the Church, v. 17. The first of these corresponds with DSD v, 25 f.; the second, with the "reproof before witnesses" of v, 1; the third, with the "accusation . . . in the presence of the Many" vi, 1.

M. B. and S. I. dissent from this position and would translate here "accusation . . . which is without proof." But cf. col. vii, notes 18 and 23.

⁴ H. L. G. paraphrases "whenever they happen to be together."

⁵ Cf. "in wealth and labor," CDC xx, 7 (9: 33). For "goods" (or "property"), see line 19 below. For "mammon" (money), cf. CDC xiv, 20 (18: 9).

⁶ Contrast with the solitariness of the Therapeutae (Philo, *On the Contemplative Life*).

⁷ The "ten men" would not appear to be the ten judges of the congregation mentioned in CDC x, 4-6 (11: 1-2), but the "ten men at least" required for an organization of the sect in any locality who are mentioned in CDC xiii, 1 (15: 4).

⁸ Cf. CDC xiii, 2 (15: 5) for nearly identical language, where ובקום should be emended to correspond to ובקול מקום of DSD. A haplography may have occurred in CDC, resulting in the omission of: אשר יהיה שם.

⁹ Heb., according to his *tikkun*—a word peculiar to the Dead Sea Scrolls. Cf. Philo's statement (*Every Good Man is free*), that seating for Essenes was according to age classifications. Possibly a type of spiritual seniority is involved in the meaning of *tikkun*. v, 23-24 mentions an annual examination whereby the members were promoted or retarded. vii, 20 indicates that offending members were demoted for a time to the back seats.

¹⁰ The Hebrew of this sentence has close verbal similarities with CDC xiv, 6 (17: 4). Cf. Schechter's note (*loc. cit.*).

¹¹ The italicized words are a dittography which should be omitted from the text.

¹² For grace with meals, cf. practice of the Essenes (Josephus, *J. W.*, II, 131; and possibly Sibyl iv, 24-26 reflecting Essene influence. Cf. Charles' note to iv, 27), the practice of the Pharisees (Letter of Aristeas 184 f., and Mishnot, Berakhoth iii), and the practice of Jesus (Mat. 14: 19; 15: 36; 26: 26 f.; etc.). For bread and wine, cf. Test. of L. 8: 5 and the Christian Eucharist.

¹³ Heb., על פינת which after W. F. Stinespring, I emend to על פינת. For meaning, cf. על פה of Mishnaic and Talmudic use. Cf. Josh. 1: 8, "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth." See also Is. 59: 21.

the Many keep awake in Community a third of all the nights¹⁴ of the year in order to read aloud from the Book and to
 8 expound laws¹⁵ | and to bless in Community.

Now this is the procedure for a session of the Many,¹⁶ each in his assigned position: ¹⁷ the priests shall sit down first; and
 9 the elders, second; then the rest of | all the people shall sit down,¹⁸ each in his own position. And in that order they shall be asked with regard to judgment and any counsel or matter¹⁹ which concerns the Many, each presenting on request his knowledge²⁰ | at the Council of the Community. No man shall interrupt the speech of his fellow before his brother finishes speaking. Neither shall ~~he~~ speak before his proper order, [before his fellow] who is enrolled before
 11 him.²¹ | The man who is asked shall speak in his turn.²² And in the session of the Many, no one shall speak any word which is not according to the pleasure of the Many and the
 12 request²³ of the man | who is Supervisor of the Many.²⁴ As for every man who has a word to speak to the Many who is
 13 not in the office²⁵ of the man who asks the counsel of | the Community—the man shall stand upon his feet and say, “I have a word to speak to the Many.” If they bid him, he shall
 14 speak. And everyone from Israel who dedicates himself | to join²⁶ the Council of the Community—the man who is Overseer²⁷ at the head of the Many shall examine him as to his understanding and his deeds.²⁸ And if he grasps instruction,²⁹
 15 he shall bring him | into the covenant to turn to the truth and to turn away from all perversity, and he shall enlighten him³⁰ in all the laws of the Community. Afterward, when he comes
 16 to stand before the Many, | the whole group will be asked concerning his affairs; and however it is decided under God³¹ in accordance with the counsel of the Many, he will either draw near³² or draw away. But when he draws near the Council of the Community, he must not touch the Purity³³
 17 of | the Many until they investigate him³⁴ as to his spirit³⁵ and his deeds, until the completion of a full year by him.³⁶

¹⁴ Meaning “a third of every night” (cf. previous sentence)—the entire membership (in shifts) filling the whole night with exposition (or oral midrash). This regulation was an attempt to live by the letter of Josh. 1: 8 and Ps. 1: 2. Cf. Sir. 51: 23 on “lodging” or “spending the night” in a school called “beth ha-midrash.” Cf. below viii, 13-15. See also Note 46 of Col. vi.

¹⁵ Or “to seek justice”; the Heb. vocabulary being the same as in Isa. 1: 17. However, cf. viii, 24 and Note 41.

¹⁶ Reading הסרך למושב הרבים. In the case of the first letter it appears that a *He* was accidentally written for a *Waw*; but the right side of the letter has been largely effaced by a corrector in order to restore the *Waw* (cf. v, 1). Cf. the phraseology of CDC: מושב סרך מושב of xii, 19 (15: 1); וזה סרך מושב of xii, 22 (15: 4); וסרך מושב of xiv, 3 (17: 1); and וזה סרך הרבים of xiv, 12 (18: 1). In all these places Schechter translates the word מושב as “settlement,” evidently taking the word as a synonym of מחנה (encampment), a word appearing in the context of these passages at xiii, 7 (16: 1) and xiv, 3 (17: 1). However, the literary parallels indicate that in CDC as in DSD the word should be rendered “session.” Cf. CDC xiv, 4-7 (17: 1-4) and DSD vi, 8-9.

¹⁷ Cf. line 4 and Note 9.

¹⁸ Cf. ii, 19-21; CDC xiv, 5 f. (17: 3).

¹⁹ Cf. line 4.

²⁰ Or possibly, "each answering his intimate," provided *maddā* = *mōdā* (so H. L. G.), which appears as a synonym of *rē*, "fellow," in DST (Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.*, II, Pl. IX, line 5). For the same word cf. vii, 3, 5.

²¹ Heb., לפני תכנון הכתוב לפניו—before his order that is written before him." But to suppose that each person held in his hand a copy of the roll or a written list of the order of speakers seems remote from possibility. The very order of their seating was such that each man understood the order in which he must speak. Doubtless there has been an omission through haplography of the words לפני רעהו. Cf. line 26.

²² Heb., בחר as in CDC xiv, 11 (17:7). The opportunity of all to speak was the practice of the Corinthian Church (I Cor. 14:26); but Paul found it necessary to instruct them to speak in turn (I Cor. 14:27-33, 40).

²³ Emend להפץ לפני, and (after H. L. G.) פניא to וכיא.

²⁴ Heb., המבקר על הרבים. Cf. המבקר אשר לרבים of CDC xv, 8 (19:8) and המבקר אשר למחנה of xii, 13 (16:6), and xiv, 8 (17:6). Schechter and Charles translate המבקר as "the Censor." For the duties of this official consult the remainder of this paragraph and CDC xiii, 6-16 (15:7-16:8); ix, 18-22 (10:10-13); xiv, 8-13 (17:6-18:2); xv, 8-14 (19:8-12). As R. H. Charles observes in his note to 10:10, the Censor (or Supervisor) corresponds to the ἐπισκοπὸς of the Essenes and the ἐπίσκοπος of the early Christians. The function of the latter, however, differed considerably.

²⁵ Heb., as in CDC ii, 9 (2:8); iv, 5 (6:3); xx, 5 (9:32).

²⁶ Heb., להוסיף (Niph'al infinitive), lit., "to be added to." Cf. viii, 19 and CDC xiii, 11 (16:4). Cf. also the use of the verb "added" in Acts 2:41, 47; 5:14; 11:24.

²⁷ Heb., הפקיד, to be equated with the Supervisor of the Many (line 12).

²⁸ Cf. i, 11; v, 21, 24; also CDC xiii, 11 (16:4).

²⁹ Heb., ואם ישיג מוסר, translated according to H. L. G. I had proposed, "And if he attains to disciplined life."

³⁰ The scribe first wrote ויבינהו, which by erasing the first letter and by adding a supralinear *Hê* a corrector has changed to והביניהו. Cf. CDC xv, 10 (19:10): "and no man shall make known to him the laws until he stands before the Supervisor . . ." See likewise CDC xiii, 5 f. (15:7 f.). On "laws," cf. line 24 and Note 47.

³¹ Lit., "according as the lot comes forth." Cf. Josh. 19:1 and CDC xiii, 4 (15:6). Schechter comments upon CDC (*loc. cit.*). "Here it seems to be a mere phrase = it shall be decided." Though the method of reaching a decision does not involve the literal lot, but an assessing of majority opinion, yet the connotation of the divine will was probably still associated with the word. Cf. Acts 1:24-26. Cf. v, 3.

³² Heb., יקרב, corresponding to πρόσσεισιν μεν ἐγγύωσιν τῇ διαίτῃ ("brought into closer touch with the rule") employed in connection with the Essene novitiate as described by Josephus, *J. W.*, II, 138. The period "outside the fraternity" before "brought into closer touch with the rule" was according to Josephus a year. Duration of this period is not stated in DSD. But see Appendix G.

³³ Cf. the "purer kind of holy water"—to which according to Josephus (*loc. cit.*) the novitiate is now admitted. The reference in either case may be to lustrations. Yet the content of the "Purity" of DSD may be larger including such items as sectarian food (cf. v, 13, 16), or even the bodies of holy men in full membership—from which according to Josephus the Essene novitiate was still excluded (*J. W.*, II 129, 139, 150).

³⁴ Or, "until he (i.e., the Supervisor) examines him"; Heb., ידרושהו, probably written for ידרושהו. Cf. v, 23, Note 53.

³⁵ Here רוח replaces שכל of vi, 14.

³⁶ Heb., ער מלאת לו שנה תמימה. A superscript *Yodh* above the *Mem* is intended to indicate the form מילאת which appears once in line 18 and twice in line 21, and also in viii, 26. The corrector probably had in mind the noun מלאת occurring in Cant. 5:12 and not recorded elsewhere. Yet cf. the identical wording of Lev. 25:30, where the pointing is that of the infinitive; and consult the similar passages where the infinitive occurs (Lev. 12:4; Num. 6:5, 13; Jer. 29:10; Dan. 10:3). In vii, 20 we find מלואת with a superscript dot over the *Mem*, made by one believing the infinitive form to be an error. The phrase על מלואת occurs in vii, 22. Perhaps the original scribe intended the infinitive as in Lev. 25:30; but since he did not employ the vowel letter *Waw* before the *Aleph* (as it appears in vii, 20, 22), a later scribe (perhaps that of DSD) who had in mind the word of Cant. 5:12 introduced a vowel letter at the wrong point.

- 18 Neither shall he share in the property of the Many; | but
upon his completion of a year in the midst of the Community,³⁷
the Many shall be asked concerning his affairs with reference
to his understanding and his deeds in the Torah; and if it is
19 decided under God | that he should draw near [or, nearer] the
Conclave³⁸ of the Community, according to the judgment of
the priests and the majority of the men of their covenant,³⁹
his wealth and his property shall be conveyed to the man⁴⁰ |
20 who is Custodian of Property of the Many, and he shall enter it
to his credit,⁴¹ but shall not spend of it⁴² for the Many. He
[the neophyte] shall not touch the drink⁴³ of the Many until |
21 his completion of a second year among the men of the Com-
munity. But upon his completion of a second year, he [the
Overseer] shall examine him under the direction of the Many;
22 and if | it is decided under God to admit him⁴⁴ into the Com-
munity, he shall enroll him in the order of his assigned posi-
tion⁴⁵ among his brethren for Torah,⁴⁶ and for judgment, and
for Purity, and to pool his property; and his counsel shall
23 belong | to the Community, also his judgment. |

The Discipline of the Community

- vi, 24 Now these are the laws⁴⁷ by which they shall judge in the
communal investigation, according to the [following] pro-
25 visions: If there be found among them a man who lies | in
the matter of wealth, and it become known,⁴⁸ they shall ex-
clude him⁴⁹ from the Purity⁵⁰ of the Many for one year, and
he shall be fined⁵¹ one-fourth his food-allowance;⁵² and he
26 who answers | his fellow with a stiff neck, or speaks with a
quick temper so as to reject⁵³ the instruction⁵⁴ of his comrade,
27 by disobeying⁵⁵ his fellow who is enrolled before him,⁵⁶ | [has]
taken the law into his own hands,⁵⁷ so he shall be fined⁵⁸ for

³⁷ The first year of specified probation for the Essenes, according to Josephus, (*J. W.*, II, 137) was "outside the fraternity." Hence the second probationary year given by Josephus corresponds with the DSD first year in being "in the midst of the Community." Cf. above Note 32.

³⁸ The Conclave (סוד) is probably to be identified with the Council (עצה) of line 16—so H. L. G. Yet it is noteworthy that the word which specifically means Conclave (or Secret Council) is not employed until after the novitiate has passed one year of probation inside the Community. If the Conclave is the same as the Council, the preceding verb should be understood in the sense of drawing *nearer*. Cf. degrees of approach to the sanctuary of the Temple.

³⁹ Cf. v, 2 f.

⁴⁰ Literally, "they shall bring near also his wealth and his property to the hand of the man." The noun *melakhah* must be understood in the sense of "goods" (as in line 2), not "work"—as Kenneth Carroll notes.

⁴¹ Heb., יכתבו בהשכונ בירו, paraphrased according to H. L. G. Literally the clause may be translated: "they (i.e., the wealth and goods) shall be recorded in account by his hand." Cf. CDC ix, 18 (10:10): "The Supervisor shall record it by his own hand." The "Supervisor (or Custodian) of the Property of the Many" appears to be a title quite distinct from the "Supervisor of the Many" (line 12 above).

⁴² Literally, "he shall not bring it forth." The reference is to the property left in deposit with the "Custodian of the Property." The deposit of the neophyte is still kept separate, perhaps with the understanding that if he is dismissed at the

end of his second year of probation, his property shall be returned to him. Contrast vii, 25 and Note 44 there. Perhaps the property could still be used for the support of the neophyte himself, though not to be spent for the Many.

⁴³ Heb., *mashqeh* as in Gen. 40: 21; Lev. 11: 34; I K. 10: 21. H. L. G. suggests that the catechumen may now come in contact with all items of the "Purity," except drink. M. B. suggests that *mashqeh* like *mishleh* may be used for the whole meal, instead of the drink alone. Cf. DST (Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* II, Pl. IX, l. 7), "they withhold the drink (*mashqeh*) of knowledge from the thirsty? Cf. "II Esdras" [IV Esdras] 14: 29 f. (reflecting Essence influence?).

⁴⁴ Literally, "to bring him near . . ." His nearness now brings him into contact with the Community, so that he is now actually inducted into the order. Cf. Eph. 2: 11-19, in which passage when Gentiles are "made nigh" (v. 13) they become "fellow-citizens with the saints" (v. 19). Underlying this Pauline passage is an allusion to Is. 57: 19 (so M. B.) which does not however explain the use of the verb. Cf. Pirqê Aboth I: 12.

⁴⁵ Perhaps meaning in the order of his rank, or in the rank of his position. Cf. i, 16; ii, 20; v, 23; vi, 9. Cf. CDC xiii, 12 (16: 5), as the passage is restored and corrected by Charles.

⁴⁶ I. e., for both the study and exposition of the Holy Scriptures. Cf. lines 6 f. and viii, 15-16. CDC xx, 10, 13 (9: 35, 38) mentions a "house of Law (or Torah)," with regard to which R. H. Charles (*op. cit.*, p. 793) says: "As the true representatives of the Law, they designated their Party as 'the House of the Law,' . . . though it is possible that this phrase may mean the School or College belonging to their Party in which the Law was taught." Cf. Note 14 above.

⁴⁷ The term *mishpatim* probably comprehends both the rules of the society and the penalties for their violation. At least both of these are inseparately linked together in the following paragraphs. We now enter the section of the scroll where in the narrow sense of the term "discipline" we find justification for the title *Manual of Discipline*.

⁴⁸ Heb., יודע, והואה יודע, where I interpret the reference in the pronoun to be the lie (שקר) that was told; and interpret the verb as passive (the imperfect of the *Niph'al* and of the *Hoph'al* both being possible here, also the perfect of the *Pu'al*). In favor of this interpretation there is the use of בהודיע (the *Hoph'al* infinitive) in the text of CDC xx, 2-3, 6 (9: 31, 33) as emended by Charles in the phrase "when his deeds become known." Cf. the impersonal use of the *Niph'al* in CDC ix, 11 (10: 7). Yet H. L. G. may be right in his proposed translation: "and he (the Supervisor) knows it," finding a personal reference in the pronoun and reading the verb as a *Qal* active participle; for CDC ix, 18, 19, 20 (10: 10, 11, 13) prescribes that all offences are to be "made known to the Supervisor (or Censor)."

⁴⁹ Heb., ויבדילהו, with which cf. CDC ix, 21, 23 (10: 13, 14). Again the action of the verb might be applied to the Supervisor, so H. L. G.; yet the verb may be defectively written for the plural. Cf. v, 23 and Note 53, vi, 17 and Note 34.

⁵⁰ Cf. CDC ix, 21, 23 (10: 13, 14). This constitutes only a partial excommunication. The offender is demoted to the status of a probationer, who, though in the midst of the Community, may not touch the Purity. Cf. lines 16-18 above.

⁵¹ Heb., וינענשו which H. L. G. would emend to ונענשו in order to make the Supervisor the subject as he does for the preceding verbs; but the verb is never used in the active voice in this document. Cf. the Biblical use of the word, Dt. 22: 19 [22: 18]; Ex. 21: 22; Pr. 17: 26. Delete final Waw here in DSD.

⁵² Heb., *lehem*.

⁵³ The traces of the letters which are visible are also consistent with the reading לפרוע which in Talmudic Hebrew may mean "to destroy," but which in Prov. 8: 33; 13: 18; 15: 32 is used of "rejecting" instruction.

⁵⁴ Heb., יסוד ("foundation") which I emend to יסור. For יסור = מוסר, cf. iii, 1 and Note 1.

⁵⁵ Heb., רעהו, בהמרות את פי רעהו, where (as H. L. G. has noticed) Aleph has been miswritten for He. For the idiom cf. I Kings 13: 26.

⁵⁶ I. e., in a matter of rank. Cf. v, 23.

⁵⁷ Reading לוא שיעה ידו לוא (לוא = לו). The phrase is borrowed from I. Sam. 25: 26, 33, which is quoted by CDC ix, 9-10 (10: 6).

⁵⁸ The verb is used here and hereafter without any qualification; but since the other aspects of the penalties are so specific, we should probably understand that the fine is to consist of $\frac{1}{4}$ the food allowance, as appears in the first violation mentioned. The amount of the fine having been specified in the first case, it was regarded as unnecessary to repeat this in the other cases that follow.

- on[e] year [and be excluded; and he] who⁵⁹ mentions⁶⁰ anything in the Honored Name⁶¹ against any [must be put to death].⁶² | And if he who reads aloud from the Book or blesses¹ has blasphemed,² either through being frightened by persecution,³ or through any reason he may have,⁴ he shall be excluded⁵ | so as to return no more to the Council of the Community; and if it is against any of the priests⁶ written in the Book that he has spoken in wrath, he shall be fined for | one *year* and be set apart by himself⁷ from the Purity of the Many; but if he has spoken through inadvertence, he shall be fined for six months; and whoever denies his knowledge [of having so spoken]⁸ | shall be fined for six [more] months. And the man who vilifies unjustly⁹ his fellow, when it is known,¹⁰ shall be fined for one year | and be excluded;¹¹ and whoever speaks haughtily[?] ¹² with his fellow, or practices deceit¹³ knowingly, he shall be fined for six months; but should | he have done so inadvertently¹⁴ against his fellow, he shall be fined for three months; and should he have committed an inadvertence¹⁴ against the property of the Community so as 7-8 to destroy it, he shall repay it | in full;¹⁵ | but should he be unable¹⁶ to pay it, he shall be fined for sixty days.¹⁷ Whoever bears a grudge against his fellow who has not been convicted¹⁸ shall be fined for one year [and/or?] six months;¹⁹ | and the same applies to him who takes vengeance for himself in any way. And whoever utters with his mouth a word of folly,²⁰ for three months;²¹ and as to him who interrupts²² his fellow, | 10 for ten days; and whoever lies down and sleeps during a session of the Many, for thirty days. Likewise the man who departs

⁵⁹ Restoring [אשר] [ומובדל] [וא]. The exclusion here is "from the Purity" as in line 25.

⁶⁰ Heb., ייבקר, cf. the use of this verb in a similar context in CDC 15: 2 (19: 2).

⁶¹ Or, "the name of the Honored One," i. e., who employs the unmentionable names *Yahweh*, *Elohim*, and *Adonai* in a curse. Cf. v, 5 (Note 18) and viii, 13-14; also CDC xv, 1 (19: 1).

⁶² Restoring with H. L. G. [הוא מות יומת] as in Numbers 35: 16 and Lev. 24: 16, the latter passage imposing the death penalty for one who "blasphemes the Name *Yahweh*." Though DSD does not impose the death penalty in any of the judgments which follow, CDC does prescribe it in certain cases. Cf. CDC xii, 3-4 (14: 5-6). Unfortunately the section of CDC which may have given the penalty for "blaspheming the Name" has suffered mutilation (Cols. xiv and xv, Chapters 18 and 19). The Essenes, according to Josephus (*J. W.*, II, 145) put to death any blasphemer of their "lawgiver"; presumably, then, blasphemy of God Himself would have been considered more serious, and would also have been punishable by death.

COLUMN vii, NOTES

¹ This description may perhaps apply to any member of the Community (cf. vi, 7 f.) It may be introduced here to emphasize the shocking inconsistency of a member who should so offend God and bring disgrace to himself. Cf. Heb. 6: 4-6.

² Or, "cursed"—Heb., קלל.

³ For צרה with meaning of *persecution*, cf. Dan. 12: 1. Cf. persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes in I and II Maccabees. For blasphemy as object of persecution, cf. Acts 26: 11 and Josephus, *J. W.*, II, 152 f.

⁴ At this point in the text there appears to have been a dittography of the words דבר אשר לו which has been effaced; but before it was effaced, someone had indicated the error by a row of dots above the words. A dittography of עם in xi, 9 went through the same process of correction.

⁵ Here the verb (in the light of the qualifying phrase) must mean more than "excluded from the Purity" (cf. vi, 25); it means complete excommunication.

⁶ Heb., בָּאֲחֵר בֶּן, where (after H. L. G.) I emend the second word to מֶן. The Book may well be the Holy Scriptures as in vi, 7—the reference being to priests whose lineage is legitimized by descent from the priests recorded in the Old Testament (so F. W. Y.)—an interpretation consistent with the sect's emphasis upon the Zadokite priesthood.

⁷ This seems to indicate some type of solitary confinement!

⁸ Heb., יָכַח בְּמוֹעֵן where the verb equals יָכַח (final letter a Shin)—perhaps: "denies to his intimate" (cf. vi, 9, note 20, also Heb. of Lev. 5: 21). Offences of vi, 27-vii, 8a appear to be ranged in decreasing order of heinousness (perhaps of separate literary origin). The next major offence after wrath against a priest is vilifying one's fellow, hence the offences in between would seem to be subpoints of the former.

⁹ Heb., יָצַח בְּלִי מִשֵּׁפֶט. The verb according to Hebrew lexicographers equals צָחַח and means "to burn." The verb in Syriac (as H. L. G. observes) means "vilifies, curses." Perhaps the phrase "unjustly" is transitional to offences of dishonesty; or does the Hebrew here mean "unless his fellow has been sentenced?" Cf. lines 8, 18.

¹⁰ Heb., בִּדְעָהּ, interpreted according to M. B. as בִּדְעָהּ, "in its knowledge."

¹¹ The decreasing gradations of offences and penalties would suggest that וּמוֹבֵרֵל על נַפְשׁוֹ of line 3, but וּיְבַרְכֵהוּ מִתּוֹךְ מִהְרֵת רַבִּים (vi, line 25). The penalty for vilifying one's fellow is the same as for speaking in anger against a priest, except for *solitary* confinement in the case of the latter.

¹² Heb., בְּמָרוֹם—with meaning haughtily without any question, if it were not for the following offence which syntactically one would suppose to be a related or equivalent offence. Some such meaning as deceitfully seems desirable. Perhaps the relationship between *marom* and *remiyah* is but the slender thread of paronomasia.

¹³ Heb., יַעֲשֶׂה רַמְיָה with which contrast דִּבֶּר רַמְיָה of Job. 13: 7. Cf. also the same idiom in Rev. 21: 27 and 22: 15.

¹⁴ Heb., יִהְיֶהּ—the *Hithpa'el* stem not recorded elsewhere for the verb in Heb. In its second occurrence the word was written above the line, though the scribe (evidently uncertain of the text) left room for it at the beginning of the line.

The *Hithpa'el* stem of Aramaic (cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.*) has the meaning, "to happen, or to chance." Through a process of reasoning independent of Jastrow, I arrived at the meaning "to be careless" for the verb.

¹⁵ The original scribe left a gap of about three lines between lines 6 and 8. A word or two at the end of line 6 have been effaced and a later scribe has inserted the word בְּרוּשׁוֹ (equivalent to בְּרֹאשׁוֹ of Lev. 5: 24) at the beginning of line 7. Translation indicates that the large space left here does not correspond to a true paragraphing. A series of corrections in lines 7-8 seem to indicate that the document from which DSD was copied may have been badly worn and partially illegible at this point. The scribe did the best he could and left ample room for any corrections, or additions, which should be made later from another manuscript.

¹⁶ Lit., "should his hand not attain" (cf. Lev. 14: 22).

¹⁷ The words "sixty days" were omitted and inserted later above the line by a different scribe. The duration of this particular fine might well have been originally indefinite, to be determined by the value of the property destroyed.

¹⁸ Heb., אֲשֶׁר לֹא בְּתוֹכָהּ (as in line 18). For meaning, cf. אֲשֶׁר לֹא בְּתוֹכָהּ ("who has not been subject to reproof") of vi, 1. The phrase can hardly mean "unjustly," for Lev. 19: 18 forbids bearing any grudge, and it is upon this passage that v. 25-vi, 1 is based.

¹⁹ The original scribe wrote "six months," a corrector without effacing the words wrote "one year" above them. Either we have an alteration of a penalty or divergent traditions (or opinions) as to what it should be (as M. B. suggests) or perhaps (since both phrases begin with *Shin*) we have a case of omission through haplography. Note, however, the penalty for murmuring against one's fellow (lines 17-18) was a fine for only six months.

²⁰ Heb., וְיִדְּבַר דְּבַר נָכַל. Cf. the same vocabulary in CDC x, 17 f. (13: 2) and Schechter's note: "דְּבַר דְּבַר נָכַל meaning probably the same as דְּבַר חוֹל that is matters of a secular nature which must not be discussed on the Sabbath."

²¹ I. e., "will be fined (one-fourth his food-allowance?) for three months."

²² Literally, "speaks in the midst of the words of . . ." For idiom cf. Sir. 11: 8; Pirque Aboth 5: 10. Cf. vi, 10 f., also Josephus, *J. W.*, II, 132 for Essene practice.

11 during a session of the Many | without permission²³ and
 12 without good reason for as many as three times at a single
 session shall be fined for ten days; but should he | leave
 again,²⁴ he shall be fined for thirty days. And whoever
 walks naked before his fellow and was not so compelled²⁵ shall
 13 be fined for six months; | and anyone who spits into the midst
 of the session²⁶ of the Many shall be fined for thirty days; and
 whoever brings out his hand from under his garment²⁷ when
 14 he | is scantily clad,²⁸ so that his nakedness is seen, shall be
 fined for thirty days. Whoever laughs foolishly with audible
 15 voice²⁹ shall be fined for thirty | days; but he who brings
 forth his left hand to muffle |² |³⁰ with it shall be fined for ten
 16 days. The man who slanders his fellow³¹ | shall be excluded
 for one year from the Purity of the Many, and he shall be
 fined; but anyone who slanders the Many shall be banished³²
 17 from them | to return no more. They shall also banish never
 to return that man who murmurs against³³ the institution³⁴
 of the Community; but if his murmuring be against his fellow |
 18 who has not been convicted,³⁵ he shall be fined for six months.
 And the man whose spirit is alienated from the institution of
 19 the Community so as to be a traitor to the truth | and to
 walk in the stubbornness of his own heart, if he repents [and
 returns],³⁶ he shall be fined for two years. In the first he
 20 shall not touch the Purity of the Many;³⁷ | and in the second
 he shall not touch the ~~assembly~~ drink of the Many;³⁸ and he
 shall sit after all the men of the Community. But upon |
 21 his *completion* of two years' time, the Many shall be asked
 concerning his affairs; and if they admit him, he shall be en-
 rolled in his assigned order, and after that he shall be consulted
 22 in judgment.³⁴ | And any man who has been in the Council of
 23 the Community⁴⁰ until the completion of ten years⁴¹ |, should
 his spirit turn away and become disloyal to the Community
 24 so that he goes forth from before | the Many to walk in the
 stubbornness of his own heart, he shall never return to the
 Council of the Community; and any man of the men of the
 25 Com[munity who] shares⁴² | with him in his Purity or in his
 property⁴³ whi[ch he had pooled with the property of] the
 Many,⁴⁴ his judgment shall be the same as his [who is to be
 banished⁴⁵]. ||

viii, 1 In the Council of the Community [there shall be]¹ twelve
 laymen and three priests² who are perfect in all that is
 2 revealed of the whole | Torah,³ through practicing truth and
 righteousness and justice and loving devotion and walking
 3 humbly each with his fellow⁴ | in order to maintain faithful-
 ness in the land with a steadfast intent⁵ and with a broken
 spirit,⁶ and to expiate iniquity through practicing justice⁷ |

²³ Or, "who was not under advice." Heb., אִשֶּׁר לֹא בַעֲצָה. Cf. Note 18 above.

²⁴ The Heb. is uncertain, a correction having occurred in the case of the third letter of the word written above the line. The word looks like יִזְכֵּן; but since this does not make sense here, we should probably read (or emend) יוֹסֵפֶן with H. L. G.

²⁵ Heb., אֲנוּשׁ (to be very sick [S.I.]) seems less likely than אֲנוּס for which it was probably intended (H. L. G.).

²⁶ Cf. Josephus, *J. W.*, II, 147 in regard to the Essenes: "They are careful not to spit into the midst of the company or to the right."

²⁷ The hand beneath the garment suggests the sleeveless robes of the Therapeutae (Philo, *On the Contemplative Life*, 30).

²⁸ Emending פָּנֹחַ to פָּנֹחָה with M. B. and H. L. G.—a verb which Jastrow defines: "to have holes in one's garments; to be clad in rags, be exposed." The torn or ragged garments remind one of the practice of the Essenes described by Josephus, *J. W.*, II, 127: "They do not change their garments or shoes until they are torn to shreds or worn threadbare with age."

²⁹ Literally, "to make his voice heard." H. L. G. paraphrases: "whoever utters a loud, silly laugh."

³⁰ Emending לְשׁוֹת to לְשׁוֹתָ (Piel infinitive absolute)—"to calm or to pacify" (Ps. 131: 2). Only the left hand could be put to such ignoble use.

³¹ The Heb. idiom is the same as in Lev. 19: 16.

³² Cf. use of the same verb in CDC xx, 3 (9: 31).

³³ Heb., יָלִין עַל or יָלִין pointed either as *niph'al* (e.g. Ex. 15: 24), or as *Hiph'il* (Ex. 16: 7; but cf. 16: 2).

³⁴ Heb., יָסַד; cf. line 18; viii, 5, 10b; ix, 3.

³⁵ Cf. Note 18 above.

³⁶ The verb *shuv* is used here to denote both the spiritual and the physical return to the Community which are inseparably linked. Cf. CDC xx, 5 (9: 32).

³⁷ The succeeding line is indented and followed by a strange symbol of unknown meaning, but translation must ignore this paragraphing.

³⁸ Cf. the rule of readmission with the rule for admitting a neophyte (vi, 17 ff.). Cf. the seven year period of trial for those desecrating the holy seasons in CDC xii, 3 f. (14: 6). The word קָהָל (assembly) was written by mistake for מִשְׁקָה, but was corrected. For the former word, cf. i, 1. For the latter, cf. vi, 20.

³⁹ Cf. vi, 22. The clause occurred again as a dittography in the following line; but it has been effaced.

⁴⁰ Another erasure occurs here in the text. The traces of letters that are visible are consistent with a dittography of the three following words.

⁴¹ An indentation occurs at the beginning of the next line, followed by about four words which have been effaced, and followed once more by a blank space before the text is resumed. The scribal uncertainties as to the text suggest a worn manuscript. It is noteworthy that this feature appears most prominent in the discipline section of the scroll.

⁴² Sufficient portions of letters are visible to make certain the restoration: **הִיאִיחֵר אֲשֶׁר יִתְּעַרֵב**.

⁴³ Cf. CDC xx, 7 (9: 33).

⁴⁴ Restoring **אֲשֶׁר עָרַב עִם הָיִין הָרַבִּים**. When one leaves the order he may not take with him the property he brought into the order.

⁴⁵ Restoring with H. L. G.: **לֹא אֹתוֹן**.

COLUMN viii, NOTES

¹ Possibly the word וַיְהִי appeared at the end of vii, 25. Though there is no indication of paragraphing on the part of the scribe, we are beginning here a subsection worthy of being paragraphed separately.

² Mention is not made of this group of fifteen men in what is extant of CDC; but provision is made for a similar group of ten "judges," four of whom are to be selected from "the tribe of Levi and Aaron," and six from "Israel." Cf. CDC x, 4 ff. (11: 1 ff.). If a distinction is to be made between the Council and the Conclave (cf. vi, 16, 19), this inner group may be the Conclave.

³ Cf. v, 9 and CDC xv, 13 (19: 12).

⁴ Cf. v, 3-4. M. B. comments, "It is curious that Micah's walking humbly with God becomes here walking with one's neighbor!" The unconscious (?) theology back of such a change may be that of 1 Jn. 4: 20-21.

⁵ Cf. iv, 5 and Note 7 there.

⁶ Heb., as in Ps. 51: 19 [51: 17].

⁷ Heb., **בְּעוֹשֵׁי מִשְׁפָּט**, which might be rendered either "through those who practice justice," or "through those who execute justice." H. L. G. interprets the passage to mean "through upright conduct." If it were not for the following phrase, one would read the preposition as **בְּ** instead of **בִּ** and translate, "as those who execute justice." The passage seems to refer in any case to the work of the special group of fifteen perfect men.

- 4 and [through] the anguish of the refining furnace,⁸ and to walk
with all in the measure of truth and in the proper reckoning⁹
of the time. When these things come to pass in Israel,¹⁰ |
5 the Council of the Community will have been established in
truth:¹¹
- As an eternal planting,¹² a holy house for Israel,
6 A | most *holy institution* for Aaron,
Witnesses of truth¹³ concerning judgment,
And the chosen of grace¹⁴ to atone for the earth,
7 And to render | to the wicked their desert.¹⁵
- That is the tried wall, the costly corner bulwark, |
8 Whose foundations¹⁶ shall *not* be shaken asunder,¹⁷
Nor be dislodged from their place!
- 9 A most holy abode | belongs to Aaron with eternal knowl-
edge¹⁸ to enact laws,¹⁹ and to offer up an agreeable odor;²⁰ and
10a a house of perfection and truth is in Israel | to establish²¹ a
covenant ~~to be an eternal wall~~ with eternal ordinances.²² |
9½ These will serve the purpose of grace to make atonement for
the earth and to decree the condemnation of wickedness that
10b there may be no wrong-doing.²³ | When these [men] have
become established in the institution of the Community for
11 two years' time in perfection of way,²⁴ | they shall separate
themselves²⁵ as holy [or, as a sanctuary] within the council
of the men of the Community; and every matter which was
12 hidden from Israel and is found by a man | who seeks,²⁶ let
him not hide it from these out of fear of an apostate spirit.
Now when these things come to pass in Israel to the Com-
13 munity, | according to these rules,²⁷ they will separate them-
selves from the midst of the session [or, habitation] of perverse
men²⁸ to go to the wilderness to clear there the way of
14 HUHA,²⁹ | as it is written:
- In the wilderness clear the way of . . . ;³⁰
Level in the desert a highway for our God: |
- 15 That [means] studying the Torah [which]³¹ He commanded
through Moses, so as to do according to all that was revealed
16 time after time | and according to that which the prophets
revealed through His Holy Spirit. As for anyone of the men
17 of | the Community, [in] the covenant³² of the Community,
who wilfully removes a word from all that He commanded,³³
18 he shall not touch the Purity of the holy men; | nor shall
he have any knowledge of any of their counsel,³⁴ until his
deeds are purified from every kind of perversity that he may
19 walk in perfection of way. Then he shall be admitted³⁵ | to

⁸ Heb., וצרת מוצרף. For the latter word used figuratively for "ordeal" or "trial," cf. i, 17 and Note 31 there.

⁹ Heb., *tikkun*. For "*tikkun* of time," cf. x, 5, 7 and Notes 19 and 23. Cf. also DSH vii, 13: "For all God's times will come in their *tikkun*."

¹⁰ Cf. line 12, also ix, 3.

¹¹ A space in the line precedes the following citation of poetry (probably from one of the hymns of the sect).

¹⁰ Heb., למטעת עולם with the *Teth* written above the line. For מטעת, cf. CDC i, 7 (1: 5). Consult in this connection xi, 8; also I En. 84: 6.

¹¹ Cf. Isa. 43: 10, 12; Jn. 5: 33; 18: 37.

¹⁴ Or, "the chosen of divine favor," Heb. *beḥire ratson*. Cf. "election of grace" in Rom. 11: 5 and the corresponding idea in Gal. 1: 15 and II Tim. 1: 9. Cf. Wis. of Sol. 4: 15.

¹⁵ Cf. DSH v, 3-5. A space precedes the next stanza of poetry.

¹⁶ Heb., יסודותיהו written by corrector above the line.

¹⁷ The stanza is based upon Is. 28: 16. Another space in the line precedes the resumption of the prose, which appears to expound the poetry just cited; but perhaps (So S.I.), it is a parallel passage cited on the same theme.

¹⁸ Heb. *beda'ath kullam*, (with the knowledge of them all), emended to *beda'ath 'olam*. Cf. *beda'ath 'olamim*—ii, 3.

¹⁹ Heb. *lierith mishpat* (for a covenant of law), emended (after S.I.) to *likhroth mishpat*, the verb *karath* being used in Biblical Heb. for enacting covenants, but in postbiblical Heb. more broadly for enacting legislation.

²⁰ Heb., *reah nihoah* (the first word being supralinear). For this sacrificial language cf. Gen. 8: 21 and Lev. 1: 9.

²¹ Something was written above the first word of this line, but it has been too well effaced for me to determine what was there.

²² The original scribe wrote *leḥomath 'olam*, having been influenced by the reference to the "wall" in line 7. The corrector has largely effaced the *Mem* of the first word, and has written above it the letters *Qoph Waw* which change the first word to *lehuqqoth*. For the phrase *leḥoq olam*, cf. CDC xv, 5 (19: 6).

²³ Scribal carelessness resulted in the omission of a line of text, which a corrector later supplied between lines 9 and 10. Cf. lines 6 f., and iv, 23.

²⁴ This seems to be a reference to the outstanding laymen and priests of line 1—who evidently were on probation for two years' time before being confirmed in their office, just as a neophyte had to pass through two years' probation for entrance into the community.

²⁵ The original scribe wrote the word יברלו at the end of line 10, and carelessly omitted the two preceding words בתמים דרך. However, these missing words were later inserted above the line at this point (where an erasure is evident in line 9½). But a still later scribe supplied the larger omission of line 9½, which by reason of its length necessitated the erasure of דרך בתמים in order to prevent confusion. This scribe effaced יברלו at the end of line 10, restored דרך בתמים to its proper position here in the line and then rewrote יברלו in its proper order above the first word of line 11.

²⁶ Cf. Sir. 7: 27 and Mat. 7: 7. The verb may also mean "study."

²⁷ "To the Community" is supralinear, as also "according to these rules (*tikkunim*). For *tikkun* with the meaning of "rule," cf. ix, 3, 21.

²⁸ Heb., הנשי העול (first letter a mistake for *Aleph*). Cf. close parallel with v, 1 which favors taking *moshav* as session (as in vi, 8). Cf. use of *moshav* and *edah* in Ps. 1: 1, 5. Cf. teaching concerning separated life in CDC viii, 8; xix, 20 (9: 18).

²⁹ The quotation of Is. 40 makes it clear that הוֹאֵהָ is a surrogate for (*Yahweh*, or *Jehovah*)—according to H. L. G. a mere surrogate. I believe that the surrogate was coined as an abbreviation for הוֹאֵהָ הוֹאֵהָ ("He is the God"). The word *Elohim* was too sacred to be written or pronounced in the usage of this scribe. Cf. EAM of v. 5 and Note 18. The surrogate may have been suggested by the recurring combination הוֹאֵהָ הוֹאֵהָ (*Yahweh*, he is the God"). Cf. Deut. 4: 35, 39; 7: 9; I K. 18: 39. Cf. use of *Aleph* for *Elohim* in x, 1.

³⁰ Four dots are employed for the Tetragrammaton (*Yahweh*), as also in the usage of the corrector of DSIa at 40: 7 and 42: 6. Though the word is not written here, when the passage was read orally HUAH was perhaps pronounced in the place of the Tetragrammaton. For the use of Is. 40: 3, cf. Mat. 3: 3; Mk. 1: 3; Lk. 3: 4-6; Jn. 1: 23.

³¹ Sufficient traces of the first and last letters make certain the restoration אֵשֶׁר.

³² A haplography has occurred in connection with the first letter of the word, [bi]vrith.

³³ Cf. Deut. 4: 2; 13: 1 (12: 32); and Rev. 22: 19.

³⁴ On secrecy with regard to the teachings and tenets of the sect, cf. ix, 17 and Note 33.

³⁵ Heb., וקרבהו, which (after H. L. G.) I take to be defectively written for

the Council according to the judgment of the Many; and afterward he shall be enrolled in his assigned position; and according to this law shall it be for every one who joins³⁶ the Community. |

- 20 Now these are the laws by which the men of perfection shall
 21 walk in holiness³⁷ each with his fellow— | all who come into
 22 the holy Council³⁸ who walk in perfection of way just as He
 23 commanded: Anyone of them | who transgresses a word of
 24 the Torah of Moses, openly or clandestinely,³⁹ shall be ban-
 25 ished⁴⁰ from the Council of the Community, | never to return;
 26 nor shall any of the holy men share in his wealth, or in his
 27 counsel on any | matter. But if he transgress through inad-
 28 vertence, he shall be excluded from the Purity and from the
 29 Council; and they shall explain the law⁴¹ | that he shall not
 30 judge any man, nor be consulted on any counsel for two years'
 31 time. If his way be perfect | in session, in study, and in
 32 counsel [in the judgment of the Many],⁴² if he has not erred
 33 again while two years' | time *has been fulfilled by him*⁴³ ||
 ix, 1 (because for one inadvertent transgression he shall be fined
 2 for two years; but for acting wilfully he shall return no more;
 3 yet he who sins inadvertently | shall be on trial two years for
 4 the perfection of his way and of his counsel, according to the
 5 judgment of the Many), then afterward he shall be enrolled
 6 in his assigned position with the holy Community. |
 7 When these things come to pass in Israel¹ according to all
 8 these rules² for an institution of the Holy Spirit,³ for | eternal
 9 *truth*, for making atonement for the guilt of transgression
 10 and sinful infidelity, and for divine favor of the land more
 11 than flesh of whole burnt offerings and than fats of sacrifice,⁴
 12 while an offering of | the lips⁵ is accounted⁶ as a fragrant
 13 offering of righteousness, and perfection of way as an accept-
 14 able freewill oblation⁷—at that time⁸ the men of | the Com-
 15 munity shall be set apart⁹ as a house of holiness for Aaron,
 16 being united [so as to constitute] a holy of holies¹⁰ and a house
 17 of Community for the¹¹ Israel(ites) who walk in perfection.¹² |
 18 Only the sons of Aaron shall have authority in matters of law
 19 and property;¹³ and according to their judgment the decision
 20 shall be reached¹⁴ in regard to every rule¹⁵ of the men of the
 21 Community | and [in regard to all]¹⁶ the property of the holy
 22 men who walk in perfection. Their property shall not be
 23 intermingled with the property of the men of deceit who | have
 24 not cleansed their way by separating themselves from per-
 25 versity and by walking in perfection of way;¹⁷ and they shall
 26 not depart from the whole counsel of the Torah to walk | in
 27 all their hardness of heart, but they shall be ruled by the
 28 first laws with which the men of the Community began to be
 29 disciplined¹⁸ | until the coming of a Prophet and the anointed
 30 ones of Aaron and Israel.¹⁹

וקרבוהו. Translation assumes the third plural indefinite here. Cf. Note 40. If we must read the singular, the Supervisor must be the understood subject.

³⁹ Heb., ... הנוסף as in CDC xiii, 11 (16: 4). Cf. vi, 14 and Note 26.

- ³⁷ Cf. "men of perfection of holiness," CDC xx, 2, 5, 7 (9: 30, 32, 33).
³⁸ Heb., בעצת הקודש. It cannot well be taken in the sense of "Counsel of holiness" (or "holy counsel") as in CDC xx, 24 f. (9: 48). See also DSD ii, 25.
³⁹ Heb., ביד רמה או ברמיה, translated according to H. L. G.
⁴⁰ Heb., יסלחוהו probably written defectively for יסלחוהו—"they shall banish him"—the impersonal third person being employed as equivalent to the passive voice. For the defective spelling cf. v, 23 and Note 53, vi, 17, 25 and Notes 34 and 49, and above Note 35.
⁴¹ Heb. interpreted after S. I. Cf. the almost identical phrase in vi, 7, "to expound laws."
⁴² Restoring על פי הרבים, with which the traces of letters remaining are consistent.
⁴³ The protasis appears at first to be without apodosis, but perhaps this is to be found at the end of ix, 2—the intervening material being parenthetical.

COLUMN ix, NOTES

- ¹ Cf. viii, 4, 12.
² For *tikkun* having the meaning of *rule*, cf. viii, 13; ix, 12, 21 and Note 21 to ix, 12.
³ Or perhaps, "for an institution of spiritual holiness." For יסוד = institution, cf. vii, 17 f.; viii, 5, 10. For רוח קודש used of the human spirit, cf. CDC v, 11 (7: 12), vii, 4 (8: 20). Cf. also רוח קדושה in iii, 7. But for רוח קודש used of God's Spirit, cf. iv, 21; viii, 16 and CDC ii, 12 (2: 10).
⁴ Cf. the prophetic teaching with regard to sacrifice (I Sam. 15: 22, Is. 1: 11, etc.) On the Essenes, cf. Philo, "Every Good Man," 75; Josephus, *A. J.* xviii, i, 5.
⁵ Or "heave offering of the lips," which one may contrast with the "heave offering of the hand" of Deut. 12: 11. Cf. "freewill offerings of my mouth" in Ps. 119: 108. For sacrifices of praise, cf. Ps. 107: 22; 116: 17; Heb. 13: 15. Consult also ix, 26; x, 6, 8, 14.
⁶ Or, "is for reckoning (or judgment)"; Heb., *lemishpat*—paraphrased after H. L. G.
⁷ Heb., כנרבת מנחת רצון. That "perfection of way" should be a freewill offering (נרבה) sheds important light upon the meaning of the verb נרב. Those who join the order consecrate themselves to God as freewill offerings. Cf. i, 2 (with Note 5), also below Note 45.
⁸ This phrase is recapitulatory, introductory to the apodosis of lines 3 ff.
⁹ Heb., יברילו—where the second *Yodh* suggests the *Hiph'il* pointing; but the *Yodh* may rather represent the *Tsere* of the *Niph'al*. Since the *Niph'al* of this verb is spelled elsewhere without the *Yodh*, I read the *Hiph'il*; but for lack of a subject I must translate it as the third person plural indefinite. Cf. viii, 10 ff.
¹⁰ Heb., להותך קודש קדשים. For the verb, cf. i, 8 and v, 20. H. L. G. proposes: "to constitute a sacrosanct community." But a comparison of line 6 with v. 6 and viii, 5-6, 11 by no means discourages the suggestion that the sect regarded itself as God's sanctuary (cf. Ps. 114: 2). In relation to the nation, it was the holy of holies, and through it atonement was made for the land (viii, 6, 9½).
¹¹ The article is of course interpretive; but cf. "the holy men who walk in perfection" in line 8. There is nothing surprising in the sect's regarding itself as the true Israel, since it believed that in the Sons of Zadok it had the only true priesthood.
¹² Cf. "walk in perfection of holiness" in CDC vii, 4 f. (8: 21).
¹³ Cf. the function of Aaron in viii, 9; and contrast v, 2 f. Does the regulation of this col. relate to the future circumstance "at that time" (so S. I.)? Cf. also Deut. 21: 5.
¹⁴ Heb., יצא והגורל—which is surely a mistake for the unusual phrase יצא הגורל; or perhaps we should read יצאו הגורל, interpreting the verb as the infinitive absolute (the *Waw* representing the *Holem*).
¹⁵ Heb., תכון—*tikkun*.
¹⁶ Not only ל but לכול (from the preceding phrase) is to be understood here, according to a suggestion of M. B.
¹⁷ Cf. "cleansed through repentance," CDC x, 3 (10: 16).
¹⁸ Cf. the close verbal parallel of CDC xx, 31 f. (9: 53), where DSD enables us to emend אנשי היתר to אנשי היתר. The constitution of the order is to remain unchanged until the Messianic age (cf. Deut. 4: 2, 12: 32, Prov. 30: 6, Rev. 22: 18 f.).
¹⁹ The "Prophet" is doubtless the Messiah, whose followers ("anointed ones")

*The Seasons of the Community,
as Observed and Taught by the Wise Men*

- 12 These are the ordinances in which the wise man is to walk
with every living being,²⁰ according to the proper reckoning²¹
13 of every time, and the weight of every person:²² | to do God's
will according to all that has been revealed for any time at
14 that time, and to study²³ all the wisdom found with refer-
ence to the times, and to set apart | the ordinance of the
time, and to weigh the Sons of Zadok²⁴ according to their
spirit;²⁵ and to hold firmly to those chosen for the time accord-
15 ing to | His will as He commanded; to treat every man accord-
ing to his spirit;²⁶ and to bring him near²⁷ according to the
16 cleanness of his hands,²⁸ and | to draw him close *according
to his understanding*,²⁹ and thus [to act according to] the
love or hate of him. Further,³⁰ not to admonish or dispute³¹
17 with the men of the Pit,³² | but to conceal the counsel of the
Torah in the midst of men of perversity;³³ but to admonish
18 with true knowledge and righteous law those who choose | the
way;³⁴ each according to his spirit, according to the proper
reckoning of the time, guiding them³⁵ with knowledge and so
instructing them in the mysteries of marvel and of truth³⁶
19 in the midst of | the men of the Community, that they may
walk perfectly each with his fellow in all that was revealed
20 for them. (That is the time³⁷ of clearing the way | of the
wilderness)³⁸—and to instruct them with regard to everything
that is found to be done³⁹ at this time, and to separate from
21 everyone, and not to divert His way | because of any per-
versity.

Now these are the rules of the way for the wise man in these
times, with regard to his love as well as his hate. [Let there
22 be] eternal hatred | toward the men of the Pit⁴⁰ in the spirit
of secrecy; while one abandons to them property and labor of
hands as a slave [does] to him who rules him and [shows]
23 humility before | him who lords it over him.⁴¹ Let a man be
zealous for the decree and its time, for the day of vengeance,
so as to do the acceptable thing⁴² in every occupation of
24 [his] hands⁴³ | and in all His [or, his] dominion⁴⁴ as He com-
manded; for everything done by him, He will gladly accept.⁴⁵

Apart from God's will [and favor]⁴⁶ one shall have no
pleasure;⁴⁷ |

- 25 [But] he shall delight [in all]⁴⁸ the commands of His mouth.

will consist of two classes: priests (i. e., those of "Aaron"), and laity (i. e., those of "Israel"). Cf. Hab. 3: 13 where God's people are called His "anointed." For further exposition, cf. Appendix D. Cf. "divinely anointed servants," Sihyl v, 68.

²⁰ Heb., *עם כל חי* *למשכיל להתהלך* במ *אלה החוקים*—of which CDC xii, 21 (15: 2) affords an almost exact verbal parallel, the only difference being the presence of the conjunction ו before *אלה*. Both Schechter and Charles misread the last two words as *כלהו* and therefore mistranslated the phrase *עם כל חי* ("with every living being") as "the whole nation." They likewise emended *למשכיל* to *להשכיל*; but Schechter conceded that *למשכיל* "is not absolutely wrong." Rost read correctly here.

²¹ Heb., *לחבון עת ועת* where CDC (*loc. cit.*) reads *ועת [עת] למשפט*; the interchange

of *tikkun* and *mishpat* may indicate that *tikkun* has the meaning "ordinance," or "rule." Cf. חוק העת of line 14. H. L. G. would translate the term here by the word "measure," perhaps because it is used in parallelism with "weight" (משקל) in this passage, and in parallelism with מדה ("measure") in viii, 4.

²² I. e., according to the classification of each (whether priest, Levite, or Israelite), and also according to his respective rank within his own class.

²³ Or "to learn."

²⁴ Heb., בני הצדוק (sons of Zadok); yet there is good ground for the proposed emendation of H. L. G., בני הצדק (as in iii, 20, 22)—"sons of righteousness." The latter would suit the context well. Note that in line 12, it is "the weight of every person" (cf. line 15).

²⁵ Cf. v, 21; vi, 17. For רוחם = רוחים, cf. Col. i, Note 36.

²⁶ A paraphrase proposed by H. L. G. for the literal: "and each according to his spirit, to execute his judgment"—the "wise man" being understood as the subject of the infinitive, and the antecedent of "his" being the man whose spirit the wise man has weighed. (i. e., the "each according to his spirit").

²⁷ For use of the verb, cf. vi, 16, 19 and vi, 22; vii, 21 (where the word is translated "admit").

²⁸ Heb., כבוד כפיו. Cf. Job. 9: 30; 22: 30; II Sam. 22: 21, 25 (Ps. 18: 21, 25).

²⁹ Cf. v, 23; vi, 14.

³⁰ Heb., ואשר. Cf. v, 10, 14, 15.

³¹ Heb., ולהתרובב, which (after F. W. Y. and H. L. G.) is to be derived from ריב not recorded elsewhere in the *Hithpa'el* stem. The use of the verb with the preposition עם seems to confirm this derivation.

³² Cf. the same phrase in line 22, also "sons of the pit" in CDC vi, 15 (8: 12), xiii, 14 (16: 7).

³³ One of the vows of the Essenes (Josephus, *J. W.*, II, 141) was "to report none of their secrets to others, even though tortured to death." Cf. viii, 18 and uncorrected text of x, 24, also CDC xv, 10 (19: 10).

³⁴ Cf. Ps. 119: 30 and the designation of the earliest Christians in Acts 9: 2 (cf. Acts 16: 17; 18: 25, 26; 19: 9, 23; 24: 14), and in the *Didache*.

³⁵ Reading להנהותם with H. L. G. The *Taw* was first miswritten as a *Mem*, but later corrected to a *Taw*.

³⁶ Heb., בריו פלא ואמת. Cf. CDC iii, 18 (5: 5) where both Schechter and Charles misread בריו פלא and then introduced emendations for the unintelligible first word. But Rost read correctly. Cf. *Meg. Gen.* ii, Pl. ix, lines 23 f.

³⁷ Heb., היאה עת. Cf. היאה העת of CDC i, 13 (1: 9).

³⁸ Cf. viii, 12-16.

³⁹ Heb., הנמצא לעשות as in CDC xv, 10 (19: 9).

⁴⁰ Cf. line 16.

⁴¹ Cf. x, 18; xi, 1-2.

⁴² Heb., *ratson*. Cf. use of *charis* ("grace") in II Cor. 8: 4, 6, 7.

⁴³ Heb., מושל כפיו. Cf. מושל יד in x, 13 (Note 39).

⁴⁴ This might conceivably be "man's dominion." Cf. Ps. 8: 7 (6).

⁴⁵ Heb., ויכול נעשה בו ירצה בנרבה—which I construe in the light of the preceding clause: "to do the acceptable thing in every occupation of his hands." Perhaps we should emend the last word to בנרבה "everything done by him, He will accept as a freewill-offering." Cf. viii, 5: "perfection of way as an acceptable freewill oblation"; also Ps. 119: 108: "Accept . . . the freewill-offering of my mouth." The meaning would then be that all good activities, even secular labors, may be presented to God as a freewill-offering.

Yet other translations of the sentence are possible. M. B. suggests "And everything done in it (i. e., in His dominion) is acceptable as a freewill-offering." F. W. Y. and H. L. G. have suggested: "Everything that befalls him (i. e., the wise man of line 21) let him gladly accept." Still another, but less likely alternative would be: "As for everything done, in it He delights (as) in a freewill-offering."

⁴⁶ By reason of the following clause *ratson* must mean "will." Cf. xi, 17 f., and CDC ii, 21 (3: 7), iii, 3, 11-12 (4: 2, 10). But by reason of the preceding clause, the word may also be taken to include God's "favor" (or grace). The traditional rendering "good pleasure" bridges both meanings.

⁴⁷ Heb., לו יחפץ where as M. B. suggests לו = לוא. The beginnings of the poem are difficult to determine. One thing is certain, from this point onward we have poetry.

⁴⁸ Restoring ויכול, as in the line directly above.

- And he shall covet nothing which He did not command;⁴⁹
 But he shall give constant attention⁵⁰ to God's [law].⁵¹ |
 26 [At every period that will be] he shall bless his Maker;
 And in whatever circumstance he may be, he shall de[clare
 His glory],
 [With an offering of] the lips he shall bless Him ||
 x, 1 During the periods¹ which Aleph ordained:²
 At the beginning³ of the dominion of light⁴ with its circuit;⁵
 And at its withdrawal⁶ to the habitation of its ordinance⁷
 2 In the beginning of | the watches of darkness,
 When He opens its storehouse and appoints it to come forth;⁸
 And at its full circuit when it is withdrawn⁶ by reason of
 light,⁹
 3 When | luminaries¹⁰ *shine*¹¹ from the abode of holiness¹²
 Upon their withdrawing⁶ to the habitation of glory;
 At the coming together of seasons to the days of a new
 moon,¹³
 4 Their circuit along with | their cession¹⁴ to each other—
 As they renew themselves,¹⁵ the *Mem* is large for the holy
 of holies;¹⁶
 And the sign *Nun* is for the unlocking [or, key] of His
 eternal mercies,¹⁷
 5 At the beginnings of | seasons in every period that will be.¹⁸
 In the beginning of moons with their seasons
 And holy days in their ordered sequence,¹⁹

⁴⁹ Restoring [צוֹנֶה].

⁵⁰ Cf. the use of the verb צִפֶּה in CDC i, 18 (1: 13).

⁵¹ Restoring [פֶּט וְלִמְשׁ]—traces of all the letters appearing except the first.

⁵² Restoring the line as follows: בְּכֹל קֶץ נֶה יִהְיֶה יִבְרָךְ עֹשֵׂיוֹ וּבְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה יֵסֶפֶר [בְּכֹל קֶץ נֶה יִבְרָךְ וּבְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה יֵסֶפֶר]. The restoration of the first lacuna is according to general sense suggested by H. L. G. Cf. language of x, 5. The second lacuna is restored after H. L. G. For the phrase "offering of the lips," cf. lines 4 f. and Note 5.

COLUMN X, NOTES

¹ The Hebrew is קָצִים. A series of temporal references follow, probably times for worship. Cf. i, 14 and Note 26 of that column.

² Heb., הֶקְטָא—the *Aleph* being written as a suffix. The syntax favors taking *Aleph* as the subject and giving it the meaning of 'Elohim (i.e. God) as in the abbreviations of v, 5 and viii, 13. We cannot be sure, however, that a passage so mysterious might not have been interpreted more than one way. If *Aleph* were to be taken as the object, it might then stand for 'adam (i.e., man), or some other word.

We have here the beginning of the acrostic Amen (*Aleph*, *Mem*, *Nun*). In view of the verb which precedes, the allusion may be to Isa. 65: 16: "He who *blesses* himself in the earth shall *bless* himself in the God of *Amen*." The word *amen*, somewhat enigmatic in Isaiah and frequently emended to *truth*, is interpreted here in an acrostic manner. The words *light*, *watches*, and *storehouse* begin with the letter *Aleph* in the material that follows.

³ Heb., בְּרִשִׁית written for בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gen. 1: 1), twice in this line, and once in line 5. Of the two occurrences of the word in line 13, the first was spelled with a *Yodh* (corrected to an *Aleph*), the second was spelled correctly. In view of the defective spelling, one might read בְּרִשִׁית, "under the authority of" (W. F. A.), or "in the realm of" (as in line 15). But the temporal meaning suits the context better in lines 1 and 5. The passage reminds one of the mysterious *Ma'aseh Bereshith* of Rabbinic literature. Perhaps the passage is to be read also as "He ordained *Aleph* (i.e., man) under the dominion of light."

⁴ Cf. Gen. 1: 16. The beginning of the dominion of light would be at dawn which was a favorite time of prayer on the part of both Essenes (Josephus, *J. W.*, II, 128), and Therapeutae (Philo, *On the Contemplative Life*, II, 27). Cf. Wis. of Sol. 16: 28—a work sometimes ascribed to a Therapeut, or an Essene; Sibyl. iii, 85, 592.

⁵ Heb., *tequphatho*, as in Ps. 19: 7 [19: 6]. If the word is used in antithesis to the "beginning" (M. B.), it may be translated somewhat as follows: "Together with its completed cycle," or "together with its completion"; cf. line 6 and Note 22.

⁶ Literally, "when it is gathered" (*Niph'al* of אסף). The word is employed in the O. T. for the setting of heavenly bodies (Isa. 60: 20, cf. Joel 2: 10). Sunset was a time for prayer among the Therapeutae (Philo, *ibid.*). With the entire passage cf. the astronomical sections in I Enoch (2: 1 ff., 41: 3 ff., 43: 1 ff., 72-82).

⁷ I.e., "the place ordained for it" (M. B.). Cf. I En. 41: 5, "chambers of the sun and moon."

⁸ Heb., וישתהו עֵלֶת—scarcely "and drinks it with a ladle." S. I., after the analogy of Gen. 32: 27, 32: 26, suggests the use of the infinitive עֵלֶת to indicate the coming of darkness. Yet the emendation לעֵת proposed by M. B. and H. L. G. is perhaps correct, of which the latter says: "He opens its storehouse (that of darkness, Job. 38: 19) and sets it (Ps. 104: 20) for a season." For the verb *set* (or *appoint*), cf. (after S. I.) also Ps. 18: 12 [18: 11]. Cf. "treasures of darkness," Isa. 45: 3.

⁹ Or, "from the presence of light." Darkness must yield to light whenever the sun or the moon ("the luminaries") arise into the sky. Cf. *RB* 56, Pl. 17, ll. 4 f., p. 608.

¹⁰ Or "light-givers" (מאורות) as in Gen. 1: 14. At this point we have progressed to the *Mem* of "Amen"—appropriately so after we have completed the cycle "light" (line 1), "darkness" (line 2), "light" (lines 2 f.). Other words beginning with *Mem* are "habitation," "seasons," "their session." There are seven occurrences of final *Mem* here (but none under the preceding material): twice the particle עַם, four times the pronominal suffix, and once the word "seasons" (מועדים) before "the *Mem*" is specifically mentioned, after which another final *Mem* occurs in the word "holies."

¹¹ Heb., באופיע—the *Hiph'il* infinitive spelled with an *Aleph* rather than a *Hê*. For use of the verb intransitively, cf. Job. 3: 4 and CDC xx, 25 (9: 49).

¹² The same words are employed here for God's heavenly abode as in Isa. 63: 15, Deut. 26: 15 (cf. Ps. 68: 6). The word זבול is used in Hab. 3: 11 for the heavenly stations of the sun and moon.

¹³ The Heb., is difficult. The translation follows the suggestion of H. L. G. that the passage means, "Whenever the days and nights add up to a month."

¹⁴ Deriving מַסְרָתָם from מַסִּירָה, but the word might conceivably be *moserotham* (Job. 39: 5) with the meaning "their bonds," or "their connections" (M. B.).

¹⁵ Or, "In their succeeding each other." The word in the *Hiithpa'el* is used of temple attendants taking turns, in *Yoma* 26A. The ostensible reference here is to each new season succeeding an old one. The word for "new moon" (above) is from the same root, meaning "newness."

¹⁶ "The *Mem* is large" doubtless refers to the larger size of the final *Mem* in the original document (W. F. A.). In the extant copy, however, the final *Mem* is not appreciably larger in size than the medial *Mem*. This phrase (הם גדול) is reminiscent of המאור הגדול (Gen. 1: 16). The letter may have also some esoteric meaning. Cf. Appendix E.

¹⁷ The word "sign" (אוֹת) is to be taken in all three senses: Portent, symbol, and letter. (a) As a *portent*, allusion is made to Gen. 1: 14 where God says that the luminaries are to be in the firmament "for signs, for seasons, for days and years." The seasons, days, and years are mentioned in the following lines. (b) As a *symbol*, it is to be noted that the medial *Nun* as here in the manuscript is the shape of the simplest primitive key. Dr. W. F. Albright confirms this observation. In a letter dated July 30, '49, he says: "The medial *Nun* is, as you have recognized, the same in form as the simplest type of ancient key, designed merely to raise the bar across the door by turning it once." (c) As a *letter*, *Nun* may be the initial of some word (or words). And hence the passage may have some esoteric meaning. Cf. Appendix E.

¹⁸ Heb., נהיה—the only word soon after *Nun* that begins with this letter. Cf. the same phrase in xi, 9 and in ix, 26 (as restored), also the use of the same participle elsewhere. See Appendix H.

¹⁹ Or, "in their *tikkun*." Another possible translation of this line would be

- As a memorial at their [holy] seasons |
 6 I will bless Him²⁰ with an offering of the lips,
 As an ordinance engraved²¹ forever;
 [Also] at the beginnings of years and at the completion of
 their terms,²²
 7 When the limit of | their measure *fulfills* its allotted
 day²³—
 [Joining] to each other, the season of reaping to the season
 of summer-fruit,
 The season of sowing to the season of green herbage,²⁴
 Seasons of years to their weeks [of years],²⁵ |
 8 And the beginning²⁶ of their weeks to a season of release.²⁷
 For as long as I exist, an ordinance is engraved²¹ upon my
 tongue
 For a fruit of praise²⁸ and for a present of my lips.²⁹ |
 9 I will sing with knowledge;³⁰
 And all my music is for the glory of God;
 And the strings of my harp³¹ are for the measuring³² of
 His holiness;
 While the flute of my lips I will raise
 As the measure of His justice.³³ |
 10 With the coming of day and night
 I will come into the Covenant of God;
 And with the outgoing of evening and morning
 I will recite His ordinances;
 11 And while they exist I will | set my bound
 So as not to turn back.
 His justice will I declare, according to my perversions,
 And my transgressions [that are] before my eyes³⁴—
 As an engraved ordinance.³⁵
 God will I call “my Righteousness”; |
 12 And the Most High, “the Establisher of my good,
 Fountain of knowledge, and Spring of holiness,³⁶
 Height of glory, and Strength of all
 With eternal splendor.”
 13 I will choose³⁷ what | He teaches me,
 And I will be content however He judges me.³⁸
 In the beginning of putting forth my hands and my feet,³⁹
 His name will I bless;
 In the beginning of going out and coming in, |
 14 When sitting down and rising up,⁴⁰
 And while lying upon my couch, I will sing praises to Him;
 And I will bless Him with the offering that flows from my
 lips
 More than a battle array of men;⁴¹ |
 15 And before I lift my hand to enjoy
 The delicacies of the world's produce.⁴²
 In the realm*⁴³ of fear and terror,
 And in the place of trouble with [its] desolation,⁴⁴ |

- 16 I will bless Him, expressing marvelous thanks;⁴⁵
And I will meditate upon His might;
And upon His mercies I will lean all the day.
- 17 And I know that in His hand is the judgment of | every
living thing
And all His deeds are truth!
And when trouble is unleashed*⁴⁶ I will praise Him;
And for His salvation I will sing praise as well.

"Under the authority of moons with their seasons are holy days in their ordered sequence"—by reading בְּרִשּׁוֹתָּי יוֹמֵי קֹדֶשׁ. For the first word cf. Note 3 above. For the construct form *yome*, cf. the corrected text of Is. 1: 1 in DSIa.

²⁰ *Hē* appears to have been written for *Aleph* in the word הִבְרַכְנוּ. From this point forward the text is in the first person.

²¹ The words חֻק חֲרֻת are also capable of being construed as "ordinance of freedom" (so M. B.). Consult Jastrow in regard to חֲרֻת (op. cit., p. 460a). Cf. also "law of liberty" in James 1: 25. Cf. occurrence of the phrase in lines 8, 11. It is not impossible that the phrase should be read both ways. Cf. the play upon the word חֲרֻת of Ex. 32: 16 in Erub. 54:a noted by Jastrow (loc. cit.).

²² So H. L. G., for "in the circuit of their seasons." Cf. n. 5 above.

²³ Heb., בְּהַשְׁלֵם חֻק תְּכוּנֵם יוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי—translation that of H. L. G.

²⁴ The designations for the agricultural seasons given here are like those in the ancient Gezer calendar.

²⁵ A reference to the Sabbatical year (Lev. 25: 1-7), which figures prominently in Jub., a fragment of which was discovered in the cave.

²⁶ Or, "At the head" (וּבְרִישׁ). "At" is not idiomatic in translation.

²⁷ A reference to the year of Jubilee (Lev. 25: 8-55), which figures prominently in Jub.

²⁸ For the figure cf. Lev. 19: 24 and the Greek text of Hos. 14: 3 (2). Cf. also Heb. 13: 15.

²⁹ Or "portion" (מִנָּה), a sacrificial term appearing in Ex. 29: 26; Lev. 7: 33 and elsewhere.

³⁰ Cf. I Cor. 14: 15.

³¹ Literally, "the lute of my harp" (כִּנּוֹר נִבְלִי).

³² Heb., לִתְכוּן—fittingly rendered according to H. L. G.

³³ Heb., *begav mishpato*—where emend *Beth* to *Kaph*. Cf. Is. 28: 17, "I will make justice the measuring line." As a musical term, *qav* means the *bell* of a horn.

³⁴ Cf. Ps. 51: 3 f.; Is. 59: 12.

³⁵ The meaning of the phrase is aptly rendered by H. L. G., "As a fixed rule."

³⁶ Cf. xi, 3, 5, 7.

³⁷ Reading *Aleph* instead of *Hē* as the first letter of הַחֲרָה (M. B.).

³⁸ Heb., וְאֶרְצָה כִּאֲשֶׁר יִשְׁפֹּטֵנִי the last two words of which should be emended to בִּאֲשֶׁר יִשְׁפֹּטֵנִי (H. L. G.).

³⁹ For *משלה יד*, cf. Deut. 12: 7, 18; 15: 10; 23: 21; 28: 8, 20. For putting forth of the foot, cf. (after S. I.) Is. 32: 20.

⁴⁰ Cf. Deut. 6: 7; 11: 18.

⁴¹ Reading מְמַעֲרַת אֲנָשִׁים; but the first letter is squat like *Beth* and shows evidence of a corrector's retouching, so that it might have been an original *Beth* corrected to a *Mem*. The word "battle-array" occurs frequently in DSW.

⁴² Heb., לְהִרְשֵׁן בְּעַדִּי תְנוּבַת תֵּבֵל. H. L. G. suggests that the verb may mean "enjoy, regale myself." An equally possible interpretation of the words is that of M. B.: "... to make rich for myself the produce of the world."

⁴³ The parallelism with "place" makes it preferable to read בְּרִשּׁוֹת rather than בְּרִשִׁית. Cf. Note 3. So W. F. A. and S. I.

⁴⁴ The only Biblical occurrence of the word בּוֹקָה is Nahum 2: 11. Noting the combination בּוֹקָה וְצוֹקָה ("trouble and its distress") in Is. 30: 6, H. L. G. suggests that here perhaps בּוֹקָה is a mistake for צוֹקָה.

⁴⁵ Heb., בְּהִפְתָּ מוֹדָה. For the sense of the verb, cf. (after H. L. G.) Lev. 22: 21; 27: 2.

⁴⁶ Heb., וּבִהֲפַתַּח צָרָה; cf. (after S. I.) Jer. 1: 14.

- 18 I will repay no man with | evil's *due*;
 [Only] with good will I pursue a man;
 For with God is the judgment of every living thing;
 And He will reward a man with his due!
- 19 I will not be envious of an | evil *person*;⁴⁷
 The wealth of violence my soul shall not covet;
 And on the abundance of a corrupt man I will not lay hold
 Until the day of vengeance!
- 20 But my anger I will not | turn back from wicked men;
 Nor will I be content until He establishes judgment!
 I will not hold out in anger against those who repent of
 transgression;⁴⁸
- 21 Yet I will have no compassion | on all those who turn
 aside from the way;⁴⁹
 Nor will I console the chastised until their way becomes
 perfect.
 I will not keep worthlessness in my heart;⁵⁰
- 22 Nor shall | foolish things *be heard in my mouth*;
 Nor shall guilty deceit, nor falsehoods,
 Nor lies be found on my lips;
 But the fruit of holiness⁵¹ shall be on my tongue;
- 23 And repulsive words | shall not be found on it.

With thankful praises I will open my mouth;
 And the righteous acts of God shall my tongue relate con-
 tinually,

- 24 Also the treachery of men until | their transgression *is
 ended*.⁵²
 Vanities⁵³ will I abolish from my lips;
 Impurities and perversions, from my heart's thought.

In the counsel [or, council] of wisdom, I will ~~conceal~~ relate⁵⁴
 knowledge; |

- 25 And by the subtlety of knowledge, I will hedge [the con-
 gregation]⁵⁵
 With a steadfast bound, to maintain faithfulness⁵⁶
 And mighty judgment according to God's righteousness.

- 26 [I am to accept]⁵⁷ | [God's] ordinance as the measure of
 times,⁵⁸

And [to practise truth and] righteous [purpose]⁵⁹

And loving devotion⁶⁰ toward the humble,

And to strengthen the hands of the timid of heart,

- xi, 1 And to teach]⁶¹ || the straying of spirit understanding,

And to make murmurers¹ wise through instruction;

And to respond humbly before the haughty of spirit,

- 2 And with broken spirit to men of | injustice*²—

Who point with the finger and speak iniquity,

And are envious of wealth!³

For as for me, my justification⁴ belongs to God;
 And in His hand is the perfection of my way,

- Together with the uprightness of my heart. |
 3 Through His righteousness my transgression shall be blotted
 out;⁵
 For from the fountain of His knowledge He has opened my
 light,⁶
 And mine eye has beheld the wonders He has done,
 And my heart is illumined with the Mystery to come.⁷ |
 4 Eternal Being⁸ is the support of my right hand;
 Upon the Rock of strength is the way of my treading;
 It shall not tremble⁹ before aught,
 5 For God's faithfulness [or, truth] is itself | the rock I tread.
 And His might is the support of my right hand.
 And from the fountain of His righteousness¹⁰ [flows] my
 justification,

⁴⁷ Literally, "evil spirit."

⁴⁸ Heb., שָׁבַע פֶּשַׁע. Cf. Is. 59: 20; CDC ii, 5 (2: 3); iv, 2 (6: 1); xx, 17 (9: 41).

⁴⁹ Heb., סוּרְרֵי דֶרֶךְ. Cf. Ex. 32: 8; Deut. 9: 16; CDC ii, 6 (2: 4); viii, 16, xix, 29 (9: 24); xix, 17 (9: 15).

⁵⁰ Cf. Deut. 15: 9. On following phrases, cf. Mal. 2: 6.

⁵¹ Cf. Lev. 19: 24; Prov. 12: 14; 13: 2; 18: 20 f.

⁵² Or possibly, "is complete" (heb. 'adh tom pish'am). Cf. Dan. 8: 23 and Gen. 15: 16. Yet cf. Lam. 4: 22 and Qeri of Dan. 9: 24.

⁵³ Heb., רָקִים which in Prov. 12: 11 and 28: 19 has been rendered by ASV as "vain persons" and by the American Translation "empty pursuits." See *davar rêq* in Deut. 32: 47 and *rēma argon* in Mat. 12: 36 and *kenois logos* in Eph. 5: 6.

⁵⁴ The scribe wrote אַסְתֵּר, but the corrector changed this to אַסְפֵּר. Cf. Prov. 12: 23.

⁵⁵ A lacuna here makes the word quite uncertain. Perhaps it was הַעֲרָה; there does not seem to be room for the word הַתּוֹרָה (the Torah).

⁵⁶ Cf. Isaiah 26: 2.

⁵⁷ Restoring, [אָנִי לֶקֶח]—emending the latter to לֶקֶח, which I read as an infinitive. A previous restoration of [אֶחָדֶךָ] is abandoned.

⁵⁸ Heb., בָּקֵן עֵתִים—the initial letter is an error for *Kaph*.

⁵⁹ There is the trace of either a *Kaph*, *Beth*, or 'Ayin after *Waw* (or *Yodh*). I restore [...] בְּחֻשְׁבַּת צֶדֶק after i, 5; v, 3; viii, 2 and [...] אֶמֶת after ii, 24.

⁶⁰ Cf. Micah 6: 8.

⁶¹ Restoring [לִנְמֹלֵךְ לֵב וְלִלְמֹד]. Cf. Is. 35: 4. The verb may have been rather להוֹדִיעַ (cf. Is. 29: 24).

COLUMN xi, NOTES

¹ Emending רִוּגָנִים to רִוּגָנִים (after H. L. G.) as in Is. 29: 24—the first two clauses of this col. being drawn from that passage.

² Heb., לֹאֲנִשִּׁי מִטָּה. For pointing of *mutteh*, cf. Ez. 9: 9. Perhaps the *Waw* of *motah* (?) of Is. 58: 9 is *plene* spelling of the same word as employed in Ez.

³ Citation of Is. 58: 9.

⁴ *Mishpat* employed in the sense of vindication. Cf. *mishpat* in Is. 40: 27; 49: 4.

⁵ "Note that here and in line 12 our psalm comes fairly close to Paul's idea of salvation by the righteousness of God" (M. B.). Cf. line 14, and Rom. 1: 17; 3: 21 f.; 10: 3 f.; I Cor. 1: 30; II Cor. 5: 21; Phil. 3: 9. Cf. DST, Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* II, Pl. ix, lines 26 f. God's righteousness is His kindness.

⁶ Cf. Psalm 36: 10 [36: 9].

⁷ Lit.: "And the light of my heart is in the Mystery forthcoming (or accomplished?)." Consult Appendix H.

⁸ Heb., הוּא עוֹלָם = הוּא עוֹלָם. M. B. suggests translating, "He Who is forever" (cf. Philo's ὁ εἰς αἶνὰ as interpretations of *Yahweh*).

⁹ Reading (after H. L. G.) יוֹדֵעַ (Hithpael of יָדַע) as in viii, 8 in the place of the unintelligible יוֹד עוֹרֵךְ of extant text.

¹⁰ Cf. I Enoch 48: 1.

- A light in my heart—
 From His marvellous mysteries in Eternal Being.¹¹ |
- 6 My eye has beheld that wisdom
 Which was hidden from men of knowledge,
 And that prudent purpose [which was hidden] from the
 sons of men:¹²
- 7 A fountain of righteousness and reservoir | of strength
 As well as a spring of glory [which were concealed] from the
 assembly of flesh.¹³
- To those whom God chose He has given them as an eternal
 possession;
- 8 And He has given to them an inheritance in the lot of | the
 holy ones;¹⁴
 And with the sons of Heaven¹⁵ He has associated their
 assembly [or Conclave] for a community council;
 Their assembly will be in the Holy Abode¹⁶ as an eternal
 planting,¹⁷
- 9 During every | period that will be.¹⁸
 But I belong to wicked humanity¹⁹
 And to the assembly of perverse flesh.²⁰
 My iniquities, my transgression, my sin
 (Together with the perversities of my heart) |
- 10 Belong to the assembly of worms and of things that move
 in darkness.²¹
- For a man's way is [not] his own;²²
 A man does not direct his steps;²³
 For to God belongs the decision,²⁴
- 11 And His counsel | is perfection of way;
 And by His knowledge everything has been brought into
 being.
 And everything that is, He established by His purpose;
 And apart from Him, nothing is done.²⁵
- 12 And I, if | I totter,
 God's dependable mercy is my salvation forever;²⁶
 And if I stumble in the guilt of flesh,
 My justification through God's righteousness will stand ever-
 lastingly! |
- 13 And if He begin my affliction,
 Even from the pit He will draw out my soul,
 And He will direct my steps in the way.²⁷
- In His compassion He has brought me near,
 14 And in His dependable mercy He will bring | my justification.
 In His steadfast righteousness He has justified me²⁸
 And in His great goodness He will pardon [or, atone for]
 all my iniquities;²⁹
- 15 And in His righteousness He will cleanse me from | man's
 impurity,
 And from the sin of the children of men.³⁰

TO PRAISE GOD FOR HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS AND THE MOST HIGH FOR HIS GLORY: ³¹

Blessed art Thou, O my God!
16 Who openest | the heart of Thy servant *unto knowledge*,
Directing in righteousness all his deeds,
And causing the son of Thy handmaid ³² to stand,

¹¹ The syntax is uncertain. This last stichos may wholly, or in part, relate to what follows rather than to what precedes.

¹² Or "children of Adam." The basic meaning is that of Mat. 11: 25 and I Cor. 1: 21; but "man of knowledge" of the previous clause may allude to Adam after he had eaten the fruit of the Tree of knowledge.

¹³ "Assembly (Heb., *sod*) of flesh" = "sons of men" = human society. Conclave cannot be employed as an apt rendering of *sod* in this place.

¹⁴ Angelic or celestial beings; cf. Job 5: 1; 15: 15; Zech. 14: 5; Ps. 89: 6, 8; Sir. 42: 17; Test. of Levi 3: 3; Ps. of Sol. 17: 49.

¹⁵ Also angels; cf. iv, 22 and Note 45. On entire verse, cf. Wis. of Sol. 5: 5.

¹⁶ Heb., וְסוֹד מַכְנוּת קוֹדֵשׁ—which (in whatever way construed) does not make sense. As S. I. has observed, the *Mem* belongs to the first word, and the second word is to be read בְּ-נוֹת. Cf. Jer. 50: 7; Zeph. 2: 6; Ps. 68: 13; Job 8: 6; but especially Ex. 15: 13. The reference here is to the heavenly abode of angels and sanctified spirits who belong to the same eternal society. Cf. ii, 25; viii, 5; and Test. of Naph. 8: 4; DST, Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* I, Pl. xiii, lines 4-6.

¹⁷ Cf. viii, 5.

¹⁸ Cf. x, 5.

¹⁹ Cf. "I am a wicked man" of the fragment published by Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* I, Pl. I, line 4 of the right col.

²⁰ Cf. line 7 and Note 13.

²¹ According to S. I. (who suggested the reading *rimmah* [worm] rather than *ramah* [pride]), the reference is to the grave as the final resting place of the flesh (cf. line 21). But I take *rimmah* to be a surrogate for Israel in its prone and sinful state. Cf. Is. 41: 14 in DSla: "Fear not, O worm Jacob, and corpses (sic.) of Israel." See also Job 25: 6; Ps. 22: 6.

The phrase "walkers of darkness" (so literally) is a synonym for "worm" and alludes to sinful ethical life of Israel.

²² Correcting לַאֲדָמָה לְאֲדָמָה as in Jer. 10: 23—an emendation made by both H. L. G. and me independently. This is a clear case of haplography, as the meter itself testifies.

²³ Cf. Prov. 16: 9.

²⁴ Heb., *mishpat*, as in line 2 where it is rendered "justification." The special translation here (made according to context) was proposed by M. B.

²⁵ Or, "And apart from Him, naught can be accomplished" (cf. line 17). Cf. Jn. 1: 3. The "apart from it" in the *B. A.*, Sept., 1950, p. 72 was an error.

²⁶ Cf. "In Thy dependable mercy thou wilt save my soul," DST, Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* I, Pl. xii, l. 6.

²⁷ Cf. (after M. B.) Ps. 85: 14; also Ps. 40: 2 f.

²⁸ Heb., *shephatni*. Cf. use of *mishpat* in line 2 (Note 4) and also here.

²⁹ For the idiom "atone" used of God's forgiveness, cf. II Chron. 30: 18; Sir. 5: 5 f.; CDC ii, 5 (2: 3), iii, 18 (5: 5), iv, 10 (6: 6); xx, 34 (9: 54); xiv, 19 (18: 9). However the idiom is to be interpreted with regard to God, it doubtless contributed to the Christian doctrine of divine initiative in atonement (Rom. 3: 24 f.; 5: 11; II Cor. 5: 18 ff.; I Jn. 4: 10).

³⁰ As M. B. observes, "In this verse we seem to have not only justification but sanctification!" Cf. DST (Sukenik, *Meg. Gen.* II, Pl. ix, line 33): "In the abundance of Thy compassion, Thou wilt pardon iniquity; And in Thy righteousness, Thou wilt cleanse man of transgression." Cf. I Jn. 1: 9.

³¹ Interpreting this line as a title. For grammatical analogy of translation, cf. (after M. B.) Ps. 107: 8, 15, 21, 31.

³² Cf. Ps. 86: 16; 116: 16.

- Just as Thou wert pleased that the elect of mankind
 17 Should stand | before Thee forever.
- For without Thee a way can not be perfect,
 And apart from Thy will naught can be accomplished!
 18 Thou has taught | all knowledge;
 And everything that has come to pass [has been] by Thy
 will.
- For there is none other besides Thee
 To reply to Thy counsel,
 19 And to understand | all Thy holy purpose,
 And to gaze into the depth of Thy mysteries,
 And to comprehend all Thy marvels;³³
 20 As well as the strength of | Thy might;
 And who is able to bear³⁴ Thy glory?
- For what, indeed, is He,
 The son of man among Thy miraculous works?³⁵
 21 And [what is] that born of woman,³⁶ in Thy estimation?³⁷
 For, as for him, from the dust is his kneading;
 And the bread of worms is his final dwelling;³⁸
 22 For he is something shaped,³⁹ only | fashioned clay
 Whose longing⁴⁰ is for the dust.
 What will clay reply, or that which is shaped by hand?
 And what counsel does he understand?⁴¹

³³ Cf. Job 37: 14.

³⁴ Heb., להכיל. M.B. suggests that the word be emended to להשכיל (to understand) as in the preceding line.

³⁵ Cf. Ps. 8: 5 (8: 4). Cf. in detail the remainder of this col. with DST, Sukenik, *op. cit.*, Pl. x, lines 2 ff.—my translation of which appears in Appendix F.

³⁶ Cf. Job 15: 14.

³⁷ Emending מְהוֹשֵׁב to מְהוֹשֵׁב (after S. I.). An ancient scribe placed a dot above and below the word at the point of difficulty.

³⁸ Reading מְדוּרָו, instead of סְדוּרָו (cf. סְדוּרָו, Jestrow, *op. cit.*, p. 976, the 4th meaning), and understanding (after S. I.) "bread of worms" to be a synonym of "dust" (cf. Gen. 3: 14). Passage parallels Gen. 3: 19: "Dust thou art and to dust shalt thou return."

³⁹ Heb., מְצוּר רק חֶמֶר קוֹרֵץ—deriving מְצוּר from צוּר meaning to fashion or to shape. The first two words were written without spacing and the first impression is of a *Waw* rather than a *Resh* for the first letter of the second (?) word. The verb *qrš* in Rabbinic usage is employed for the cutting of dough in the making of loaves of bread (Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 1425a); but there is also a noun *qwrš* (also spelled *qrš*) with the meaning "destruction" (*op. cit.*, p. 1425b). The translation here, therefore, might conceivably be "perishable clay." Cf. DST, Sukenik, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ Heb., *teshuvatho*; cf. Gen. 3: 16. The parallel passage of DST (Appendix F, line 3) reads *teshuvatho*—"whose return is to dust."

⁴¹ Heb., וְלֹעֲצָתָהּ יָבִין; for idiom, cf. (after S. I.) Jer. 8: 9. See the parallel passage in *Meg. Gen. I*, Pl. xiii, lines 6-7.

APPENDIX A

THE RESTORED TEXT OF i, 1

I have realized that certain valid criticisms of my restoration of the Hebrew text of i, 1 would be forthcoming. R. de Vaux has raised the same questions which I pondered when making the reconstruction. In his letter from Jerusalem, dated December 19, 1950, he states:

A vrai dire, je ne suis pas entièrement convaincu par votre restauration: a) il me paraît improbable que אלה החוקים, qui est au debut de section, ait pu se trouver en fin de ligne et en fin de colonne; b) les deux expressions כול הקהל and מִן־עַד נָשִׁים, la première surtout, sont simples et elles ne se trouvent pas ensemble dans les passages de notre fragment que vous citez; c) sur votre photographie, je ne vois pas la place du ה que vous restituez dans להיות. Il reste que la restauration est possible et que elle vous permet de commencer votre texte sans blancs.

I shall answer these doubts in reverse order; for it was in that order that I progressed toward the reconstruction of the line. In February, 1950, when the scrolls were brought to Duke for exhibit, I had the opportunity to examine all lacunae, obscurities, and erasures of the text. Though at that time I had no inclination to read another letter after להי, I examined the scroll to see whether it was possible another letter had been there originally. I noticed that the leather had peeled or flaked somewhat following the last letter; so I wrote on my note paper, "Possibly another letter followed *Waw*, but no evidence." I continued to read the visible letters only until I read Sukenik's restoration להיות (where however the second letter should be *Heth*). The remainder of the restoration of the second lacuna came quickly (though I had read *serekh* before) after the analogy of i, 16 and ii, 24. The trace of a letter which I now recognize as the bottom of the *Beth* is to be seen in the middle of the break. The reading במרך requires להיות. The two words fill the lacuna satisfactorily.

I then approached the question of what went before. In pondering Sukenik's restoration [אנ]שים, the thought suddenly came, "Why not [נ]שים in connection with a list of the types of members in the Community?" I quickly turned to the photographs of the scroll fragments which had only a few days before come to my hand, where I found the language to supply the missing text of the rest of the line.

It is true that the expressions "for the whole assembly" and "including children and women" do not occur together in the extant text of the scroll; yet the verb "assemble" is employed with this phrase in DSD, so that the use of the cognate noun "assembly" with the same phrase is highly probable. In fact this restoration could almost have been predicated upon the basis of the Old Testament alone, where we find the words: "the whole assembly of Israel with the women and children" (Josh. 8: 35), and "there was gathered together unto him out of Israel a very great assembly of men and women and children" (Ezra 10: 1; cf. also Deut. 29: 10 ff; 31: 11 f; Neh. 8: 2).

The language of the restored text suggested the beginning of a section, so that the prefixing of the words אלה החוקים after the analogy of ix, 12

came readily to mind. But this leads to the objection expressed by R. de Vaux as to whether a new section would have been begun "at the end of a line, at the end of a column." Since preparing the translation and notes given above, I have come to the conclusion that these introductory words should perhaps be extended to *אלה חוקי הברית החדשה* ("These are the ordinances of the New Covenant"). Cf. CDC v, 12 (7: 12);¹ xx, 29 (9: 51), xx, 11 f. (9: 37). One might even think of a yet lengthier extension to obtain a heading somewhat as follows: "These are the ordinances of the New Covenant which was drawn up in the Land of Damascus for the whole assembly, etc." Cf. CDC vi, 16 (8: 15); xix, 33 f. (9: 28). The longer extension would give us a line of sufficient length that the indentation which presumably began the section could have been at the right margin of the last line as in DSIA Col. xiii. However, I prefer the shorter extension,² with the possibility of paragraphing within the line, of which DSIA Col. xi affords us a perfect illustration. There one finds a paragraphing before Chapter 14 which occurs at the end of a sheet, at the end of a col., and at the end of a line in the same fashion as I propose for DSD. Cf. the space left within the line of DSD viii, 8. There is no need, however, to insist that a space was actually left in the text before the beginning of this section. The scribe of DSD was not infallible in matters of paragraphing, as may be seen from the fact that *באלה* at the end of vi, 1 begins a new topic, where one would expect the scribe to start a fresh line with indentation. Cf. the paragraphing at iv, 15 with the same word.

The restoration of i, 1 is therefore one to be entertained, though some uncertainties exist as to the exact form and appearance of the line which immediately preceded it at the end of the column no longer extant. Those convinced by the restoration may thank the kind Providence who has preserved every letter now visible. One letter less, either before or after the first lacuna, would have prevented the restoration with such precision.

APPENDIX B

THE MEANING OF *Hesed* AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR DSD

One of the most important religious terms of the Old Testament is *hesed*. It is more than "mercy," or "loving kindness" (conventional renderings); nor do modern renderings such as "piety" or "loyalty" always convey the full meaning; for the word combines the qualities of love and loyalty as in the friendship of David and Jonathan (I. Sam. 20: 8, 14 f.; II Sam. 9: 1, 3) and as in the affection of a bride for her husband (Jer. 2: 2). Note particularly the association of *hesed* with "friend" in II Sam. 16: 17. Alex. Gordon in *An American Translation* employs the word "devotion" for his translation of Jer. 2: 2, the rendering which we use elsewhere in this document. Cf. also Aubrey Johnson, "Jonah II. 3-10: A Study in Cultic Phantasy," *Studies in Old*

¹ This reference might suggest a modification so as to obtain, "These are the ordinances of the Covenant of God." Cf. my restoration of DSD ii, 26.

² Partly because I regard DSD (although a compilation) earlier than CDC.

Testament Prophecy Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson (edited by H. H. Rowley for the Society for Old Testament Study), pp. 85, 87. Other studies of the word are by Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, pp. 118-166, and by Nelson Glueck, "Das Wort *Hesed* im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche als menschliche und göttliche gemeinschaftgemässe Verhaltungsweise," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Beiheft 47, 1927.

One of the most interesting uses of *hesed* in this document is in its citations of מִחָהֵסֶד אֱהָבָה Micah 6: 8 (ii, 24; v, 4, 25; viii, 2; x, 26; cf. also iv, 5), where *hesed* is employed attributively—meaning "*hesed* love" (or, loving devotion), rather than a "love of (i. e., for) *hesed*." The question must be considered seriously whether the sect's understanding of Micah is correct: "to practice: (1) justice, (2) loving devotion, (3) walking humbly . . ."

If the origin of the sect is in some way connected with the Hasideans (cf. Col. i, Note 5), the question may well be raised as to whether the sect's use of *hesed* and its fondness for Micah 6: 8 stems from the Hasideans, who perhaps made much of the word by which they were known. Any influence of the terminology of the Hasidic Book of Daniel which may be discovered might point in the same direction. Cf. Col. iii, Note 21; Col. vi, Note 2.

APPENDIX C

EAM A SURROGATE FOR YAHWEH

The immediate reaction of scholarship when confronting the word מַשְׁמָחָה (v, 5) is to emend. M. B. has proposed emending the text here so as to read in connection with the previous word יִצְרוּ הָאֲשָׁם after יִצְרָה אֲשָׁמָה of CDC ii, 16 (3. 2). The parallelism with CDC here is not close enough, however, to compel acceptance of such a radical emendation. E. L. Sukenik emends to מַשְׁמָחָה[ב]—a possibility of which I had thought and would have accepted if it were not for the need of *Yahweh* as the appropriate subject of the following infinitives. Notice especially the clause concerning atonement. It is to be for the entire membership of the Community classified as: (1) those dedicated for holiness in Aaron; (2) those dedicated for a house of truth in Israel; (3) those attached to them for Community, etc. Such a comprehensive atonement can have God alone as its author. Cf. xi, 14 (and Note 29). Surely the author of DSD would not have expressed himself in such an involved manner, if all he meant was that the members of the Community are to atone for themselves.

The clue to the interpretation of this surrogate is found in the author's use of Deut. 10: 16 f. and 30: 6. In the latter reference *Yahweh* is made the author of circumcision of the heart; in 10: 17 He is described as "God of gods, and Lord of Lords, the great God, the mighty, and the terrible"—a very impressive title that could not have escaped the notice of the author of DSD with his extreme reverence for the name of *Yahweh*. I understand מַשְׁמָחָה to be the abbreviation of אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים

וְאֵלֹהִים וְיְהוָה (God of gods, and Lord of Lords). Cf. reverential handling of *Elohim* and *Adonai* in CDC xv, 1 (19: 1). F. W. Y. (citing I En. 9: 4) suggests the *Mem* may stand for "King of Kings" (מֶלֶךְ הַמְּלָכִים). Nothing in the literary allusions points to this phrase, however. Cf. Josh. 22: 22; Ps. 136: 2 f., Dan. 2: 47; 11: 36. For the pronunciation of this surrogate, I take the *Seghol* of *Elohê* and the *Pathah* of *Adonê*—a suggestion of my student Boyd L. Daniels.

APPENDIX D

THE PROPHET AND THE ANOINTED ONES

"Until the coming of a prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" is a notable phrase of ix, 11 which sets forth the Messianic expectations of the sect. "Prophet" (נָבִיא, *Beth* being supralinear) is anarthrous under the influence of Deut. 18: 15, a passage which came to be interpreted messianically (I Macc. 4: 46, Test. of Ben. 9: 2, Jn. 1: 21, 25, Acts 3: 22, 7: 37). Note the equation of "prophet" and "king" in Jn. 6: 14-15. Cf. F. W. Y., "Jesus the Prophet: a Re-examination," *J. B. L.*, Vol. 68, pp. 285 ff. In CDC xix, 10 f. (9: 10), xx, i (9: 29), xii, 23 f. (15: 4), xiv, 19 (18: 8), the Messiah himself (הַמָּשִׁיחַ) is to be descended "from Aaron and Israel."

CDC ii, 12 f. (2: 10) may well allude to the designation "anointed ones" (or messiahs, מְשִׁיחִים) in the following words: "and through His Messiah He shall make them know His Holy Spirit, and He is true, and in the true interpretation of his name are their names"—i. e., as he is Messiah, they are messiahs (anointed ones); and as the Messiah is anointed with the Holy Spirit (Cf. Is. 61: 1, Acts 10: 38), so he anoints his followers (the Spiritual remnant) with the Spirit (Cf. Mk. 1: 8, Jn. 1: 33, II Cor. 1: 21, I Jn. 2: 20, 27). Contrast Charles' explanation of CDC ii, 13 (2: 10).

Ps. 105: 15 (= I Chron. 16: 22) brings "prophets" and "anointed ones" into parallelism. Thus in the "anointed ones" here, we are to see a revival of the gift of prophecy besides that of the "Prophet" himself.

APPENDIX E

CONJECTURES AS TO THE ESOTERIC MEANING OF MEM AND NUN

The fact that *Aleph* in x, 1 evidently has the meaning of *Elohim* leads one to look for some esoteric meaning for the other letters of the acrostic amen (x, 4).

In the footnote concerning the *Mem* (Note 16 of Col. x), I call attention to the phrase, "the great luminary" of Gen. 1: 16 as perhaps alluded to by the words "the *Mem* is great (or large)." Who is this great luminary? One's thought readily turns to the "Spirit of truth" who is known also as "the prince of lights" (iii, 20); then one may recall

also the phrase "Michael the great prince" of Dan. 12: 1 (which see in Heb.). The latter reference is eschatological and may point to an eschatological meaning in the text of DSD. At least any esoteric passage in which temporal references occur is open to the suspicion of having veiled allusions to eschatology. If we interpret the *Mem* as referring to Michael (to be equated with the prince of lights?), wherein does his greatness for the holy of holies arise? In Daniel his office is to oversee and fight on behalf of the devout Jews. In DSD, "the *Mem* is great for the holy of holies." In viii, 6 and ix, 6 "holy of holies" is figurative for "the sacrosanct Community" (to use a phrase of H. L. G.). Perhaps it is figurative here also. The cryptic meaning of x, 4 for the sect would then be, the luminary Michael is great on behalf of the holy sectarian Community.

The meaning of *Nun* is also, perhaps, to be arrived at through literary allusions. The Messiah is referred to in ix, 11 by the word *navi'* (prophet). "The *Nun* is for unlocking or a key of His eternal mercies" is reminiscent of the phrase "the key of the house of David" (Is. 22: 22) and of the phrase "the sure mercies of David" (Is. 55: 3. Cf. in Heb. for appropriate use in this acrostic). These possible literary allusions strengthen the case for an allusion to the Messiah. Besides *navi'*, four other Messianic titles occur beginning with the letter *Nun*: *nagid* ("leader," Is. 55: 4), *netser* ("shoot," Is. 11: 1), *nes* ("ensign," Is. 11: 10), and *nasi* ("prince," Ez. 34: 24). The preponderance of references to Isaiah strengthens the interpretation, in view of the document's frequent citations of Isaiah. The speculation is open to the objection that there is no indication elsewhere of the expectation of a Davidic Messiah. CDC (perhaps a later document) speaks of the Messiah's descent from Aaron and Israel (9: 10, 29; 15: 4; 18: 8). But if my speculation is correct (which is really beyond the realm of proof), the Messiah is the last "great luminary" (cf. T. of L. 18: 3) who with the "key of David" will unlock the "sure mercies" of the "God of Amen." Notice how Paul and the Apocalypse apply the word *Amen* to the Christ (II Cor. 1: 19-22; Rev. 1: 5; 3: 14), the latter speaking of Him as the "beginning (cf. *berêshith* in x, 1 ff.) of God's creation."¹

H. L. G. (following the first tentative transliteration of M. B.) reads יום גדול (rather than היום גדול) and expands נ אמת to [אמן] so as to obtain: "It is a great day for the holy of holies and a sure sign for unlocking His eternal mercies." This reading is hardly supported by the paleography and obscures the *Mem*, which alone of the letters of the acrostic would then not be explicitly mentioned. Yet the suggestion makes such excellent sense, it is worthy of study.

¹ For Messianic significance of *berêshith*, cf. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, London, 1948, pp. 150-2.

APPENDIX F

A PSALM OF DIVINE SOVEREIGNTY

Among the psalms of DST which have close affinities to the psalms of DSD is that of *Megillot Genuzot* II, Plate X, of which I present a translation that one may compare with that published in the *New York Times*, March 26, 1950, Sec. 1, p. 16. My translation is as follows:

- 1 Without Thy will, nothing shall be;
And one can comprehend nothing |
- 2 [Apart from] Thy, one can discern nothing!¹
For what, indeed, is man—
- 3 He who is earth, [only] | fashioned [*clay*],²
And whose return is to dust—
That Thou shouldst enlighten me in such marvels as these, |
- 4 And give me knowledge of *[Thy] g[reat] counsel*?³
For I am but dust and ashes!
What can I devise unless Thou desire it, |
- 5 Or what can I plan without Thy will?
What strength can I attain unless Thou sustain me,
- 6 And how can I attain wisdom unless Thou create it | in me?³
And what can I speak unless Thou open my mouth,
And how can I answer unless Thou enlighten me? |
- 7 Behold, Thou art captain⁴ of the mighty,
And king of the notable,
And lord of every spirit,
And ruler over every work, |
- 8 So that one can do nothing apart from Thee
And have no knowledge without Thy will.
There is none besides Thee, |
And none [may be compared] with Thee in strength,
And none [may stand] before Thy glory,
And no price [can be placed] upon Thy might!
- 10 And who | among all Thy great and miraculous works
Can muster strength to stand before Thy glory? |
- 11 And verily what is he who returns to dust,
That he should muster [such strength]?
Only for Thy glory hast Thou done all these things!⁵

¹ The exact wording of the lacunae is difficult to determine, but the thought is clear: One can comprehend nothing unless Thou desire it (or, teach it), and one can discern nothing apart from Thy enlightenment (or such like).

² The Hebrew presents a pun based upon Gen. 2: 7—"What indeed is *adam*, he who is *adamah*?" The lacuna is restored according to DSD xi, 21 f. Sukenik's restoration would be, "He who is earth, | fashioned [out of dust]."

³ Literally, "fashion, (or shape) it for me." The verb is the same as that used in Gen. 2: 7 for the forming of man out of dust.

⁴ Heb., *sar*, generally rendered "prince"; but cf. the uses of this word in the Old Testament.

⁵ My translation is independent of that of A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, Chapter vi, ("Psaume E").

APPENDIX G

THE YEARLY COVENANTING OF THE SECT

The yearly reenactment of the Covenant¹ was the occasion (no doubt) of admitting new members² (according to the rules of vi, 13 ff.), of advancing old members (v, 24), and of renewing of covenant vows on the part of all. The yearly examinations, admissions, and promotions were probably all made to coincide with the Jewish New Year (or, perhaps with the anniversary of the first enactment of the New Covenant on the part of the Teacher of Righteousness, the founder of the sect).³ This may account for the unspecified duration of the first period of instruction and probation of one desiring membership with the order. One who offered himself for membership (whatever the time of year) needed to remain in this preliminary stage (if he was acceptable to the group) only until the next New Year's (or anniversary) observance. Josephus could speak of this period as "one year" (*Jewish Wars* II, 138); but in many cases this stage may have lasted more than a year, as when one applied for admission near the end of the year, so that the period of indoctrination and examination would have been too brief for him to be prepared for advanced status at the next New Year's Day; in which case, he may have been obliged to await a second New Year's Day.

My student Kenneth Carroll observes that the annual covenanting was characterized by such large numbers ("by thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, and tens," ii, 21 f.) as to indicate that it was a general convention of all the local units of the sect (whose membership requirement was a minimum of only ten men per unit. Cf. vi, 3).

¹ See ii, 19. There were also other times of renewing the Covenant, such as "the coming of day and night" (x, 10), but these would not have been with the full liturgy of i and ii.

² Cf. M. B., "The Discipline Manual of the Judaeae Covenanters," *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Vol. viii, pp. 159-160.

³ Even so, this anniversary would be expected to fall upon some holy day, specifically chosen (in the first place) because of its appropriateness for enacting the New Covenant. Reasons might be adduced in favor of some other holy day, such as the Day of Atonement (which according to Ez. 40:1 may be regarded as New Year's), the Passover, or Pentecost (according to Jewish tradition, it was the anniversary of the giving of the Old Covenant at Sinai).

APPENDIX H

THE NIPH'AL PARTICIPLE OF THE VERB הָיָה

That the verb *to be* should ever appear in a passive stem is illogical, and wherever it appears the question naturally arises as to its meaning. Brown, Driver, and Briggs¹ define the Niph'al of *hāyāh* as "either, *be done, be brought about, or occur, come to pass.*" The first definition suits the occurrence of the verb (read as *qal perfect*) in DSD xi, 11: "And by His knowledge everything *has been brought into being.*"²

The Niph'al participle occurs only once in the Old Testament (Prov. 13: 19) where it modifies the noun *desire*, the phrase where it appears being interpreted universally as a "desire accomplished"—with its reference in point of time to the past rather than to the future. The meaning seems to be clear; yet it should be pointed out that the Biblical verse is not without its difficulties. The stichoi of the verse are not in parallelism, so that some scholars have regarded them as displaced, or perhaps as corrupt. Hence no decisive argument should be based upon the verse.

The Hebrew of Ben Sirah presents us with two occurrences of this participle in the plural (42: 19, 25) where it stands alone as a denominative. In each case the Greek version renders *nihyôth* with the future participle τὰ ἐσόμενα "the things that shall be." Probably we should read the same form in CDC ii, 10 (2: 8) where Schechter (op. cit.) gives the participle a future reference in the translation: "for the things that be everlasting and *are to happen.*"³ The participle occurs in the singular in DSD iii, 15—where, accepting the evidence of the Greek Sirach (just cited) I translate the word as relating to the future: "all that is and *will be.*" It likewise appears in the singular (with the article) in DST (*Meg. Gen.* II, PL. viii, line 16) in a passage where any one of three interpretations would suit the context: "that which has come," "that which is about to come," "that which is (in the process of) coming." Either the second or the third alternative would carry with it the idea of the Hebrew imperfect. I prefer the third: "And the earth cries out by reason of the calamity which is (in the process of) coming upon the world."

The participle *nihyeh* occurs three times in DSD as a modifier of the word "period" (*qêš*). In the first two a future reference is clearly in place, as the phrase relates to oncoming, or recurring seasons (x, 5 and ix, 26 as restored). In the third reference (xi, 9) the phrase relates to the future ages of the world to come,⁴ to which there may possibly be a

¹ *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1907, p. 227b.

² The same use of the verb *to be* as a passive occurs in the Greek of John 1: 3, in a striking similar passage.

³ Not all scholars have been satisfied as to the accuracy of the LXX rendering, nor with the accuracy of the reading and interpretation of Schechter in regard to CDC. Contrast within the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* itself the view of R. H. Charles, the editor, in his translation and accompanying note to CDC ii, 10 (Vol. II, pp. 803 f.) and the view of G. H. Box as revealed in his translation and notes to Sirach 42: 19, 25 (Vol. I, pp. 472 f.).

⁴ One might adopt the translation "in every recurring period" for ix, 26 and x, 5, if it were not that this vocabulary was hardly suitable for the identical phrase in xi, 9.

cryptic allusion in the meaning of x, 5 (particularly if the *Nun* is to be interpreted messianically).

In xi, 3 we are faced with a calligraphy which seems to render the last letter of the line uncertain. The letter begins high and is curved somewhat after the manner of a final *Nun*, but it failed to descend below the level of the preceding letters in the manner customary for a final *Nun* in this document. That the letter should be read as *Zayin* appears clear from two occurrences of the phrase *rāz nihyêh* in the fragment of an unidentified document recovered from the Scroll Cave⁵ and one occurrence of the exact phrase of DSD in another unidentified scroll fragment from the cave where de Vaux reads: [כִּאֲשֶׁר גָּלָה אֶזְנוֹכָה בְּרוּ נִהְיָה].⁶ De Vaux interprets the participle as indicating something already accomplished or past; but the future suits well the passage last cited: "As He disclosed to your ear in regard to *the Mystery to come*." It is my contention that the same is true of the large scroll fragment containing the two occurrences of the phrase *raz nihyeh*. The following translation experiments with the future interpretation:

They know not *the Mystery to co[me]*,
Nor have they understood ancient things.
They know not what will come upon them,
Nor have they saved their life from *the Mystery to come*.

De Vaux argues that the first two stichoi present us with synonymous parallelism, that *raz nihyeh* means "*mystère passé*" (the past mystery) agreeing exactly with "ancient things." The parallelism need not be completely synonymous, however. Perhaps there is an antithetical or complementary element in the parallelism—i. e., they have understood neither the future ("the *Mystery to come*") nor what is (or should be) easier, the past ("the ancient things").⁷ On the other hand, I believe that a strong case can be made out for synonymous parallelism in the following two stichoi which would equate the phrase "what will come upon them" with the *raz nihyeh* ("the *Mystery to come*"). The future reference seems to be supported also by the subsequent words: "(Now) this is the sign to you that it will come to pass . . ."

To return to DSD xi, 3, I note that *raz nihyeh* and *niphla'oth* are corresponding members in parallel structure. If they were to be construed synonymously, de Vaux's interpretation of the participle would be upheld; for God's "marvels" are the "wonders He has done" in creation and history, so that the *raz nihyeh* would be the mystery of God's working as already revealed (cf. II Thess. 2: 7). But again the phrases may not have been intended as rigidly parallel; for the psalmist of DSD may well sing of the divine light springing both from God's past works and from the hope of God's redemptive acts destined for the future.⁸ The combined evidence of the extra-Biblical passages, particularly the Greek version of Sirach, seems to favor interpreting the *Niph'al* participle with reference to the future.

⁵ R. P. R. de Vaux, "La grotte des manuscrits hébreux," *Revue Biblique*, LVI, 4, Oct., 1949, Plate XVII (facing p. 608) with transcription on p. 605.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 606.

⁷ The order first future, then past, is to be explained as moving from the lesser to the grosser ignorance.

⁸ Cf. II Peter 1: 19.

APPENDIX I

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POSTSCRIPT

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

During the past three years there has been a debate about the chronology of the Scrolls which has at times attained the status of a veritable *guerre des savants*.¹ It is an astounding chapter in the history of learning, in some ways without parallel. It is quite true that the discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum was in its time relegated to the realm of fiction by outstanding personages, that some archaeologists and many more philologists refused to accept the stratigraphical results of Schliemann and Dörpfeld for decades after the beginning of excavations at Hissarlik, and that the decipherment of cuneiform was not accepted by all informed students of antiquity until well after the end of the nineteenth century. Nor should we forget that the Elephantine Papyri were declared to be a forgery (though ancient) by no less a figure than the late Laudian professor of Arabic at Oxford, D. S. Margoliouth. Of course, since that time many additional Aramaic papyri and ostraca have been found in Egypt, and the initial reaction of such experts as Clermont-Ganneau and Cowley has been confirmed many times over.

In none of the similar episodes of the past two centuries, however, has there been such wide refusal on the part of scholars to accept clear-cut evidence. In a sense this attitude represents a belated revolt on the part of philologists against the archaeological triumphs of the past two generations. Individual leaders of the movement are naturally swayed by different motives, often complex and frequently more or less unconscious. Certain of these leaders are moved by the very elementary instinct for preserving personal theories. Others seem to react violently against innovations likely to threaten the critical schools to which they belong. It is quite true that the discovery of the Scrolls menaces the

¹ The literature is very extensive; it focuses mainly about the articles in *BASOR* supporting pre-Christian date and the contributions to the *JQR* which attack this date and propose post-Christian dates ranging from late Roman times to the Crusades, with many hints that they may be much more recent.

insecure foundations of many speculative hypotheses of both Old and New Testament scholars, not to mention students of rabbinics. Thus the new evidence adds materially to the already impressive arguments against dating any of the Psalms or Prophetic writings after the fourth century B.C.² *at latest*. The Isaiah texts prove that the basic consonantal text underlying the Massoretic Bible goes back well into pre-Christian times and makes emendation a much more delicate operation than it has often been in the recent past. The new evidence with regard to the beliefs and practices of Jewish sectarians of the last two centuries B. C. bids fair to revolutionize our approach to the beginnings of Christianity.³ In particular it renders the various hypotheses of a Gnostic background for the Gospel of St. John very hard to swallow.⁴ Rabbinic studies are even more directly affected, and it is safe to say that nothing written on the sectarian movements of the last three centuries of the Second Temple can escape thorough revision in the light of the evidence now available and still to be published. The background of the Karaites demands fresh examination. And so on.

The material from the cave above 'Ain Feshkha belongs together and cannot be divided into radically different chronological groups by arbitrary assumption or by imaginative analysis of oral and written stories about the way the cave was found and the scrolls reached the hands of their present owners. No experienced archaeologist can believe for a minute that the jars in which the scrolls were placed had remained long in use before the cave was sealed. Such jars become musty and mildewed, their porous clay holding moisture even after it has evaporated elsewhere. It is, accordingly, very hard to suppose that they were old jars which had been preserved for generations for the purpose of storing rolls which had not yet been placed in them. The pottery in question is Hellenistic, not Roman in the sense that the word is used by Palestinian archaeologists. However, the pottery *might* be squared with a date for the sealing of the cave toward the end of the Second Temple in A. D. 70.⁵ A later date is archaeologically incredible.

² Of course, the evidence was already present, though disregarded by many scholars. The Greek translation, made between 250 and 125 B. C., shows that a great many poetic passages of the Hebrew text of these books were no longer understood (many of these passages have already been clarified by the Ugaritic and other recently recovered Northwest-Semitic texts), which would not be credible if they had actually been composed in Hellenistic times.

³ See the forthcoming French and Hebrew translations of my *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, where my point of view is stated in revised form (Chapter VI). It is in this sense that J. L. Teicher's paper, "The Dead Sea Scrolls—Documents of the Jewish-Christian Sect of Ebionites" (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, II [1951], pp. 67-99) makes a real contribution. Following H. J. Schoeps' recent work on the Ebionites, he points out the close relation between the Sectarians of our Scrolls and the Jewish-Christian sect. He should have gone still farther with Schoeps and emphasized that the Ebionites preserved many practices and tenets of the Essenes. There can be little doubt after the recent work of Burrows (*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, VIII [1950], pp. 165 ff.), Brownlee (*Biblical Archaeologist*, September, 1950), and Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris, 1950) that our sectarians were Essenes of some kind.

⁴ Cf. especially the excellent study of K. G. Kuhn, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 47 [1950], pp. 192-211, which could now be extended with the aid of the material in DSD.

⁵ This does not mean that I am willing to date the Hellenistic pottery found in the Cave after the first century B. C., but simply that a certain amount of leeway

The evidence from palaeography has been beautifully presented by Birnbaum in *Vetus Testamentum*, so clearly that "he who runs may read."⁶ Only crass disregard of the epigraphic and palaeographic evidence can permit any scholar to dismiss the mass of evidence now available and to declare that dates for forms of ordinary Hebrew and Aramaic cursive and semi-cursive script of that general age cannot be fixed. In spite of all the efforts made by various scholars to controvert the evidence presented by Trever, Birnbaum, and the writer⁷—not to mention others—the basic facts are just as clear as they were three years ago. The script of the latest of the Dead Sea Scrolls is older than that of nearly all the material (now including several hundred items) belonging to the last century or so of the Second Temple. When we compare it with that of the Dura parchment and dipinti of the third century A. D., or that that of the Hebrew papyrus fragments from the third century A. D. and later which have been found in Egypt, the archaism of our Scrolls becomes doubly clear. Under no conditions can any of them date from the period to which the latest are assigned by Kahle⁸ and Teicher,⁹ namely, the third or fourth century A. D.

The determination last December¹⁰ of the radiocarbon date of the linen cloth which had been employed to wrap the Scrolls and which was removed from the cave by Harding and de Vaux, deals a *coup de grâce* to the later dates of Driver¹¹ and Weis.¹² We now know that the linen in question was manufactured 1917 years ago, plus or minus two centuries, i. e., between the early second century B. C. and the early second century A. D. The radiocarbon dating *can* be harmonized with the views of Kahle and Teicher by taking the latest possible radiocarbon dates and the earliest dates given by these two scholars, but their chronology is excluded entirely by the ceramic and palaeographic evidence.

for continued use must naturally be allowed. B. Kanael is now defending a date for the sealing of the Cave toward the end of the Second Temple, shortly before A. D. 70, as will appear from current and forthcoming papers. My own preferred date for the sealing remains in the second half of the first century B. C., probably before c. 25 B. C.

⁶ Vol. II (1951), pp. 91-109. I disagree only in holding to the archaistic origin of the script in the Leviticus fragments, which I should date in or about the early first century B. C., with S. Yeivin and B. Kanael.

⁷ See especially *BASOR*, No. 115, pp. 10-19.

⁸ Paul Kahle, *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* (Stuttgart, 1951), pp. 56 ff.

⁹ See n. 3, above.

¹⁰ The publication of this date was deferred in order to give Mr. Harding the opportunity to publish it, which he did in the *Manchester Guardian*. See Sellers in the *Biblical Archaeologist*, XIV (1951), p. 29, following Donald Collier's exposition of the method used, pp. 25-28. See also the October *BASOR*, where Sellers will discuss the subject again.

¹¹ *The Hibbert Journal*, October, 1950, pp. 11-21; *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1951, pp. 17-30. Driver's date for the sealing of the Cave lies between c. 650 and c. 800 A. D. His treatment of the first Isaiah Scroll in *JThSt.* has some excellent aspects, but his date between 200 and 700 A. D. is quite out of the question. One of my students is now working on a doctoral dissertation which deals with the proper names of Isaiah and the use of the vowel-letters *W* and *Y*; we find that *DSIa* reflects an oral tradition of pronunciation which often agrees with *LXX* but sometimes surpasses it in accuracy. A date for the text of the MS after the end of the Second Temple is incredible.

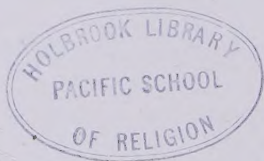
¹² P. R. Weis, "The Date of the Habakkuk Scroll" (*JQR*, XLI [1950], pp. 125-154). His preferred date is about A. D. 1096.

Consideration of the internal evidence drawn from the Scrolls themselves has had to be deferred until the documents in question have become available through publication. Meanwhile Zeitlin and his followers have marshalled many arguments drawn from this source; they turn out to be very weak. Every point which Zeitlin has raised has been discussed with me by my colleagues in the Baltimore Hebrew College, Drs. E. H. Golomb and Samuel Iwry, who have pointed out that his arguments from rabbinical data are throughout fallacious. My correspondents in Israel are of the same opinion. This is not the place to go into detail; suffice it to say that the language of the new documents is neither Mishnaic Hebrew nor Mediaeval Hebrew, but is closely akin to Ben Sira. The supposed Arabic expressions are not Arabic; the alleged Karaite influence vanishes on close inspection; the Christian influence disappears. On the other hand, we do have here evidence for some of the lost background of Christianity and probably of the Karaite movement.

Just one example of a more general character may be given. According to Zeitlin the Dead Sea Scrolls may have been discovered in the Cairo Geniza and brought to Palestine in order to be sold for higher prices after the Cave (in which some of this material was later excavated by Harding and de Vaux) had been "salted" for the purpose of giving credence to the story of their Palestinian origin.¹³ Since any mediaeval document like these Scrolls could have been sold in Egypt for at least ten times what the Palestinian dealers actually got for their treasures, this notion is much less than plausible. In view of the fact that not a single document written in the script of the Dead Sea Scrolls has ever been reported as coming from the Cairo Geniza, it becomes incredible.¹⁴ Such reasoning is "straining at a gnat in order to swallow a camel."

W. F. ALBRIGHT

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¹³ So Zeitlin's rather elusive statement in *JQR*, XLI, p. 50, must be interpreted, according to supplementary oral statements by him.

¹⁴ Cf. Kahle, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 f.

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